THE

AMERICAN MUSEUM,

OR A

REPOSITORY

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN

FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.

PROSE AND POETICAL.

For DECEMBER, 1787.

..... "Wit flourish'd first in courts and camps;
"From various grandeur caught the manly taste". .....

. . . . . .

..... "Collatis ornatibus."

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THE

AMERICAN MUSEUM,

For DECEMBER, 1787.

THE FEDERALIST.

Continued from page 446.

To the people of the state of New York.

LETTER III.

IT is not a new observation, that the people of any country (if, like the Americans, intelligent and well informed) seldom adopt, and steadily persevere for many years in, an erroneous opinion respecting their interests. That consideration naturally tends to create great respect for the high opinion which the people of America have so long and uniformly entertained of the importance of their continuing firmly united under one federal government, vested with sufficient powers for all general and national purposes.

The more attentively I consider and investigate the reasons which appear to have given birth to this opinion, the more I become convinced that they are cogent and conclusive.

Among the many objects to which a wise and free people find it necessary to direct their attention, that of providing for their safety seems to be the first. The safety of the people, doubtless, has relation to a great variety of circumstances and considerations; and consequently affords great latitude to those who wish to define it precisely and comprehensively.

At present, I mean only to consider it as it respects foreign force, and the means of guarding against dangers from that quarter. Next to the effectual preservation of peace and tranquility, as well against dangers from foreign arms and influence, as from dangers of the like kind, arising from domestic causes. As the former of these comes first in order, it is proper it should be the first discussed. Let us, therefore, proceed to examine, whether the people are not right in their opinion, that a cordial union, under an efficient national government, affords them the best security that can be devised against hostilities from abroad.

The number of wars which have happened or will happen in the world, will always be found to be in proportion to the number and weight of the causes, whether real or pretended, which provoke or invite them. If this remark be just, it becomes useful to enquire, whether the many just causes of war are likely to be given by united America, or by disunited America; for if it should turn out that united America will probably give the fewest, then it will follow, that, in this respect, the union ought most to preserve the people in a state of peace with other nations.

The just causes of war for the most part arise either from violations of treaties, or from direct violence. America has already formed treaties with no less than six foreign nations, and all of them, except Prussia, are

countries, and therefore able to annoy and injure us. She has also extensive commerce with Portugal, Spain, and Britain, and with respect to the two latter, has, in addition, the circumstance of neighborhood to assist us.

It is of high importance to the peace of America, that she observe the laws of nations towards all those powers, and to see it appears evident that this will be more perfectly and prudently done by one national government, than it could be either by thirteen separate ones, or by three or four distinct confederacies.

Because when once an efficient national government is established, the bad men in the country will not only cease to force, but also will generally be appointed to manage it; for although bad men or enemy, or other concerted influence may place men in free elections, or bribes, or courts of justice, or executive departments; yet more general and extensive operation for talents and other qualifications, will be necessary to recommend men to offices under the national government—especially as it will have the widest field for choice, and never experience that want of proper persons, which is not uncommon in some of the states. Hence it will result, that the administration, the political councils, and the judicial decisions of the national government will be more wise, systematical and judicious, than those of individual states, and consequently more satisfactory with respect to other nations, as well as more safe with respect to us.

Because under the national government, treaties and articles of treaties, as well as the laws of nations, will always be expounded in one sense, and executed in the same manner—whereas adjudications on the same points and questions, in thirteen states, or in three or four confederacies, will not always accord or be uniform; and thus in addition to the variety of independent courts and judges appointed by different and independent governments, or form the different local laws and interests which may affect and influence them. The wisdom of the convention in committing such questions to the jurisdiction and judgment of courts appointed by, and responsible only to one national government, cannot be too much commended.

Because the prospect of profit, or loss or advantage, may often tempt the governing party in one or two states to swerve from good faith and justice: but those temptations not reaching the other states, and consequently having little or no influence on the national government, the temptation will be resisted, and good faith and justice be preserved. The cession of the treaty of peace with Britain, adds great weight to this reasoning.

Because even if the governing party in a state should be disposed to resist such temptations, yet as such temptations may, and commonly do result from circumstances peculiar to the state, and may affect a great number of the inhabitants, the governing party may not always be able, if willing, to prevent the injustice meditated, or to punish the aggressors. But the national government, not being affected by the local circumstances, will neither be induced to commit the wrong themselves, nor want power or inclination to prevent, or punish its commission by others.

So far therefore as either designed or accidental violations of treaties and of the laws of nations afford just causes of war, they are less to be apprehended under one general government, than under thirteen separate ones, and in that respect, the former affords greater safety to the people.

As to those just causes of war, which proceed from direct and unlawful violence, it appears equally clear to me, that one good national

governments affords vastly more facility against dangers of this kind, than can be derived from any other quarter.

Besides such violences are more frequently excited by the passions and interests of a part than of the whole, of one or two States than of the union. Not a single Indian war has yet been occasioned by aggressions of the present federal government, feeble as it is; but three are threatened in consequence of Indian hostilities having been provoked by the improper conduct of individual States, who, either unable or unwilling to restrain or punish offences, have given occasion to the slaughter of many innocent inhabitants.

The neighbourhood of Spanish and British territories, bordering on laws less and not on others, naturally renders the cause of quarrel more immediately to the borderers. The bordering States, if any, will be those who, under the impulse of sudden irritation, and a quick sense of opportunity, will be most likely by direct violence, to excite war with those nations; and nothing can be effectually done than danger, as a national government, whose wisdom and prudence will not be committed by the passions which actuate the parties immediately involved.

But one only fewer pit cavils of war will be given by the national government, but it will also be more in their power to divide them amicably. They will be more temperate and cool; and in that respect, as well as in others, will be more in capacity to act advisedly than the disputing State. The pride of States, as well as of men, naturally disdains mingle pitily all their claims, and opposite their acknowledging, compromising, or repairing their errors and offences. The national government, in such cases, will not be affected by this pride; but will proceed with moderation and candour to consider and decide on the means most proper to conciliate them from the dispositions which threaten them.

Besides, it is well known, that acknowledgments, explanations, and compensations, are often accepted, as satisfactory, from a strong national nature, which would be rejected, as unsatisfactory, if offered by a State or confederacy of little consideration or power.

In the year 1683, the State of Genoa having offended Louis XIV. endeavoured to appease him. He demanded, that they should send their doge, or chief magistrate, accompanied by four of their senators, to France, to ask his pardon, and receive his terms. They were obliged to submit to it, for the sake of peace. Would he, on any occasion, either have demanded, or have received the like humiliation from Spain, Britain, or any other powerful nation?

PUBLIUS.

New York, Nov. 6, 1787.

LETTER IV.

MY last paper alleged several reasons, why the safety of the people would be but little hazarded by union, against the dangers they may be exposed to, by pit cavils of war given to other nations: and there reasons were, that such cavils would not only be more rarely given, but would also be more easily accommodated by a national government, than either by the State governments, or the proposed little confederacies.

But the safety of the people of America, against dangers from foreign force, depends not only on their forbearing to give just cavils of war to other nations, but also on their placing and continuing their affairs in such a situation, as not to

having hostility or rivals: for it need not be observed, that these are provoked as well as just causes of war.

It is too true, however disgraceful it may be to human nature, that nations in general will make war, whenever they have a prospect of getting any thing by it: nay, that absolute monarchs will often make war, when their nations are to get nothing by it, but for purposes and objects merely personal, such as, a thirst for military glory, revenge for personal affronts, ambition, or private compacts to aggrandize or support their particular families, or partisans. These, and a variety of motives, which affect only the mind of the sovereign, often lead him to engage in wars not justified by justice, or the voice and interests of his people. But, independent of these inducements to war, which are more prevalent in absolute monarchies, but which will seldom actuate our rulers, there are others, which affect nations as often as kings: and some of these will, on examination, be found to grow out of our relative situation and circumstances.

With France, and with Britain, we are rivals in the fisheries; and can supply their markets cheaper than they can themselves, notwithstanding any efforts to prevent it, by bounties on their own, or duties on foreign fish.

With them, and most other European nations, we are rivals in navigation and the carrying trade: and we shall deceive ourselves, if we suppose that any of them will rejoice to see us flourish [with us]: for as our carrying trade cannot increase, without in some degree diminishing theirs, it is more their interest, and will be more their policy, to restrain, than to promote it.

In the trade to China and India, we interfere with more than one nation, in as much as it enables us to partake in advantages which they had in a manner monopolized, and as we thereby supply markets with commodities which we wish to purchase from them.

The extension of our own commerce, in our own vessels, cannot give pleasure to any nation which prefers stagnation to motion: because the cheapness and excellence of our provisions, added to the circumstance of vicinity, and the enterprize and address of our merchants and navigators, will give us a greater share in the advantages which these territories afford, than consists with the views or policy of their respective sovereigns.

Spain thinks it convenient to shut the Mississippi against us, on the one side; and Britain excludes us from the St. Lawrence, on the other: nor will either of them permit the other waters, which are between them and us, to become the means of mutual intercourse and traffic.

From these, and such like considerations, which might, if occasion required it, be more amplified and detailed, it is only to be expected that enterprizing and ambitious men will gradually find their way into the councils and the arms of other nations; and that we are not to expect they should regard our advancement in union, in power and consequence by land, and by sea, with an eye of indifference and composure.

The people of America are exempt from inducements to war, many of out of their circumstances, as well as from others not to obvious at present; and that whenever such inducements may find in time and opportunity for operation, pretexts to colour and palliate them, will not be wanting. Wisely therefore do they consider union and a good national government as necessary to put and keep them in such a situation as to stand of leaving war, still and a regards and discourage it. This situation consists in the full power [illegible]

of defence, and manifestly depends on the government, the union, and the attachment of the country.

As the safety of the whole is the interest of the whole, and cannot be provided for without government, either one, or more, or many, let us enquire whether one good government is not, relative to the object in question, more competent than any other given number whatever.

One government can collect and wield all the talents and experience of the ablest men, in whatever part of the union they may be found. It can mature uniform principles of policy—it can harmonize, administer and pervade the several parts and members, and extend the benefit of its foresight and precautions to each. In the formation of treaties, it will regard the interest of the whole, and the particular interests of the parts, as connected with that of the whole. It can apply the resources and power of the whole to the defence of any particular part, and that more easily and expeditiously than how governments, or separate confederacies can possibly do, for want of concert and unity of system—It can place the militia under one plan of discipline, and by putting their officers in a proper line of subordination to the chief magistrate, will as it were consolidate them into one corps, and thereby render them more efficient than if divided into thirteen or more or less distinct independent bodies.

What would the militia of Britain be, if the English militia obeyed the government of England, if the Scotch militia obeyed the government of Scotland, and if the Welch militia obeyed the government of Wales? Suppose an invasion—would their three governments (if they agreed at all) be able, with all their respective forces, to operate against the enemy so effectually as the single government of Great Britain?

We have been much in the dark concerning the state of Britain; and the time may come, if we are wise, when the heads of America may engage attention. But if our national government had not to regulate the navigation of Britain as to make it a safety for herself—if our national government had not called forth all the natural means and materials for forming fleets, their powerful and their number would never have been known.

Let England have its navigation and fleet—let Scotland have its navigation and fleet—let Wales have its navigation and fleet—let Ireland have its navigation and fleet—let these four of the constituent parts of the British empire be under four independent governments, and it is easy to perceive how soon they would each dwindle into comparative insignificance.

Apply these facts to our own case—Leave America divided into thirteen, or if you please, into three or four independent governments—what armies could they raise and pay, what fleets could they ever hope to have? If one was attacked, would the others fly to its succour, and spend their blood and money in its defence? would there be no danger of their being swallowed up successively, by foreign powers, or divided by a too great inequality for peace, or drawn by their weakness and poverty into ruinous alliances with the one or the other of neighbours, of whom, perhaps, they have been jealous, and whose importance they are content to see diminished? Although such conduct would not be wise, it would nevertheless be natural. The history of the states of Greece, and of other countries, abound with such instances: and it is not impossible that what has so often happened, would under similar circumstances, happen again.

But admit that they might be willing to help the invaded (as is customary—Now and then, and

to what proportion, shall aids of men and money be allotted? who shall command the allied armies, and from which of them shall he receive his orders? who shall form the terms of peace, and, in case of disputes, what umpire shall decide between them, and compel acquiescence? various difficulties and inconveniencies would be inseparable from such a situation; whilst one government, watching over the general and common interests, and combining and directing the powers and resources of the whole, would be free from all those embarrassments, and conduce far more to the safety of the people.

But whatever may be our situation, whether firmly united under one national government, or split into a number of confederacies, certain it is, that foreign nations will know and view it exactly as it is; and they will act towards us accordingly. If they see that our national government is efficient and well administered—our trade protected—our militia properly organized and disciplined—our resources and finances discreetly managed—our credit re-established—our people free, prosperous, and united—they will be much more disposed to cultivate our friendship, than provoke our resentment. If, on the other hand, they find us either destitute of an efficient government, (each State being right or wrong as to its rulers may seem convenient,) or split into three or four independent and probably dissimilar republics or confederacies, one inclining to Britain, another to France, and a third to Spain, and perhaps played off against each other by the three, what a poor pitiful figure will America make in their eyes! How liable would she become not only to their contempt, but to their enmity! and how soon would clear bought experience proclaim, that when a people or family so divide, it never fails to be against themselves!

PUBLIUS.

New York, Nov. 9, 1787.

LETTER V.

QUEEN ANN, in her letter of the 6th of July, 1706, to the Scotch parliament, makes some observations on the importance of the union then forming between England and Scotland, which merit our attention. I shall present the public with one or two extracts from it. "An entire and perfect union will be the solid foundation of lasting peace. It will secure your religion, liberty, and property; remove the animosities among yourselves, and the jealousies and differences between our two kingdoms. It will increase your strength, riches, and trade; and by this union, the whole Island being joined in affection, and free from all apprehensions of different interest, will be enabled to resist all its enemies. . . . We need not recommend to you calmness and candour, in this great and weighty affair, that the union may be brought to a happy conclusion, being the only effectual way to secure our present and future happiness, and disappoint the designs of our and your enemies, who will doubtless, on this occasion, use their utmost endeavours to prevent or delay this union."

It was remarked in the preceding paper, that weakness and divisions at home, would invite dangers from abroad, and that nothing would tend more to secure us from them, than union, strength, and good government within ourselves. This subject is copious, and cannot easily be exhausted.

The history of Great Britain is the one with which we are in general

the bell experienced, and is given us many useful lessons. We may profit by their experience, without paying the price which it cost them. Alike it seems obvious to common sense that the people of such an island, should be but one nation, yet we find that they were for ages divided into three, and that their three were almost continually embroiled in quarrels and wars with one another. Notwithstanding their true interest, with respect to the continental nations, was really the same, yet by the arts, policy, and prejudices of those nations, their mutual jealousies were perpetually kept enflamed, and for a long series of years they were for more inconvenient and troublesome, than they were useful and edifying to each other.

Should the people of America divide themselves into three or four nations, would not the same thing happen? Would not similar jealousies arise, and be equally mutual cherished? Instead of their being "joined "in affection and free from all appre- "hension of different interests," envy and jealously would soon extinguish confidence and affection, and the partial interests of each confederacy, instead of the general interests of all America, would be the only objects of their policy and pursuits. Hence, like most other bordering nations, they would always be either involved in disputes and war; or live in the constant apprehension of them.

The most sanguine advocates for three or four confederacies, cannot reasonably suppose that they would long remain exactly on an equal footing in point of strength, even if it was possible to form them so at first; but admitting that to be practicable, yet what human contrivance can secure the continuance of such equality? Independent of those local circumstances which tend to augment power in one part, and to impede its progress in another, we must advert to the effects of that superior policy and good management which would probably distinguish the government of one above the rest, and by which their relative equality, and strength, and consideration, would be destroyed. For it cannot be presumed that the same degree of *local policy*, prudence and foresight, would constantly be observed by each of three confederacies for a long succession of years.

Whatever, and from whatever cause, it might happen—and happen it would—that any one of those nations or confederacies should rise on the scale of political importance, much above the degree of their neighbours, that moment would their neighbours behold her with envy and with fear. Both their policies would lead them to counteract, if not to promote, whatever might promise to diminish her importance; and would also withdraw them from measures calculated to advance, or even to secure her prosperity. Much time would not be necessary to enable her to discern their unfriendly disposition—She would soon begin, not only to lose confidence in her neighbours, but also to feel a disposition equally unfavourable to them. Diffrust naturally creates diffrust: and by nothing is good will and kind conduct more quickly changed, than by invidious jealousies and unfounded imputations, whether expressed or implied.

The north is generally the region of strength: and many local circumstances render it probable, that the most northern of the proposed confederacies would, at a period not very distant, be unquestionably more formidable than any of the others. No sooner would this become evident, than the northern hive would excite the same ideas and feelings in the more southern parts of America, which it formerly did in the

fourteen years of Europe. Nor does it appear to be a rash conjecture, that its young Swarms might often be tempted to gather honey in the more blooming fields and wilderness of their immediate and more delicate neighbors.

They who will consider the history of similar divisions and confederacies will find abundant reason to apprehend, that clash in contemplation would in no other kinds be neighbors than as they would be forbearers; that they would neither love nor trust one another, but on the contrary, would be a prey to discord, jealousy, and mutual injuries; in short, that they would place us exactly in the situation which those nations dread with to be in, viz. formidable only to each other.

From these considerations it appears, that those gentlemen are greatly mistaken, who suppose that alliances offensive and defensive might be formed between these confederacies, and would produce that combination and union of wills, of arms, and of resources, which would be necessary to put and keep them in a formidable state of defence against foreign enemies.

When did the independent states, into which Britain and Spain were formerly divided, combine in such alliances, as unite their forces against a foreign enemy? The projected confederacies will be distinct nations. Each of them would have its commerce with foreigners to regulate by distinct treaties; and as their productions and commodities are different, and proper for different markets, so would those treaties be essentially different. Different commercial concerns and create different interests, and of course different degrees of political attachment to, and connection with different foreign nations. Hence it might and probably would happen, that the foreign nation with whom the southern confederacy might be at war, would be the one, with whom the northern confederacy would be the most desirous of preserving peace and friendship. An alliance so contrary to this immediate interest would not therefore be easy to form, nor if formed, would it be observed and fulfilled with perfect good faith.

Nay, it is far more probable, that in America, as in Europe, neighboring nations, acting under the impulse of opposite interests, and unfriendly passions, would frequently be found taking different sides. Considering our distance from Europe, it would be more natural for these confederacies to apprehend danger from one another, than from distant nations, and therefore that each of them should be more desirous to guard against the others, by the aid of foreign alliances, than to guard against foreign dangers by alliances between themselves. And here let us not forget how much more easy it is to receive foreign [illegible] into our ports, and foreign armies into our country, than it is to persuade or compel them to depart. How many conquests did the Romans and others make in the character of allies, and what innovations did they under the same character introduce into the governments of those whom they pretended to protect!

Let candid men judge, then, whether the division of America into any given number of independent sovereignties would tend to secure it against the hostilities and improper interference of foreign nations.

PUBLIUS.

New York, Nov. 13, 1787.

LETTER VI.

THE three last numbers of the paper have been dedicated to a examination of the dangers to which we should be exposed, in a state of

diffusion, from the arms and arts of foreign nations. I shall now proceed to different dangers of a different and perhaps, still more alarming kind—those which will, in all probability, flow from dissensions between the States themselves, and from domestic factions and convulsions. These have been already in some instances slightly anticipated; but they deserve a more particular and more full investigation.

A man must be far gone in Utopian speculations, who can seriously doubt, that if these States should either be wholly disunited, or only united in partial confederacies, the subdivisions, into which they might be thrown, would have frequent and violent contests with each other. To prevent a want of motives for such contests, as an argument against their existence, would be to forget that men are ambitious, vindictive, and rapacious. To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected Sovereigns, situated in the same neighborhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events, and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages.

The causes of hostility among nations are innumerable. There are some which have a general and almost constant operation upon the collective bodies of society. Of this description are the love of power, or the desire of pre-eminence and dominion—the jealousy of power, or the desire of equality and safety. There are others, which have a more circumscribed, though an equally operative influence, within their spheres. Such are the rivalships and competitions of commerce between commercial nations. And there are others, not less numerous than either of the former, which take their origin entirely in private passions; in the attachments, enmities, interests, hopes, and fears of leading individuals in the communities of which they are members. Men of this class, whether the favourites of a king or of a people, have in too many instances abused the confidence they possessed; and assuming the pretext of some public motive, have not scrupled to sacrifice the national tranquility to personal advantage, or personal gratification.

The celebrated Pericles, in compliance with the remonstrances of a prostitute *, at the expence of much of the blood and treasure of his countrymen, attacked, vanquished, and destroyed the city of the Samnians. The same man, stimulated by private pique against the Megarenians †, another nation of Greece, or to avoid a prosecution with which he was threatened, as an accomplice in a supposed theft of the statuary Phidias ‡, or to get rid of the accusations preparing to be brought against him, for dissipating the funds of the State, in the purchase of popularity ||, or from a combination of all these causes, was the primitive author of that famous and fatal war, distinguished in the Grecian annals by the name of the Peloponnesian war; which, after various vicissitudes, intermissions, and renewals, terminated in the ruin of the Athenian commonwealth.

The ambitious cardinal, who was prime minister to Henry VIII. permitting his vanity to aspire to the triple crown, entertained hopes of succeeding in the acquisition of that splendid prize by the influence of Charles V. To favour the views

NOTES.

* Aspasia—vide Plutarch.

† Idem.

‡ Idem. Phidias was suspected to have stolen from public gold, with the connivance of Pericles, for the embellishment of the statue of Minerva.

|| Idem.

and benefit of this powerful and enterprising monarch, he proclaimed England free; war with France, contrary to the plainest dictates of policy, and at the hazard of the liberty and independence, as well of the kingdom over which he presided by his councils, as of Europe in general: for if there ever was a foreign power, who had fair to enslave the people of celestial humanity, it was the emperor Charles V. of whose intrigues Wolsey was at once the dupe and the instrument.

The influence, which the bigotry of one female *, the punctilio of another †, and the whim of a third ‡, had in the contemporary policy, for-merly, and particularly of a considerable part of Europe, are topics that have been too often discussed again, not to be generally known.

To multiply examples of the agency of political considerations, in the production of great national events, either foreign or domestic, according to their direction, would be an unnecessary waste of time. Those, who have but a superficial acquaintance with the human, from which they are to be drawn, will themselves recollect a variety of instances: and those, who have a tolerable knowledge of human nature, will not fail in need of such lights, to form their opinion either of the reality or extent of that agency. Perhaps, however, a reference, tending to illustrate the general principle, may, with propriety, be made to a case which has lately happened among ourselves. If there had not been a different debate, it is much to be doubted whether Middlesex would have been plunged into a civil war.

But notwithstanding the concurring testimony of experience, in this particular, there are still to be found visionary, or designing men, who stand ready to advocate the practice of perpetual peace between the States, though unconnected and alienated from each other. The genius of republics, by them, is pacific; the spirit of commerce has a tendency to soften the manners of men, and to extinguish those inflammable humours which have so often kindled into war. Commercial republics, like ours, will never be disposed to make themselves in reiterated contentions with each other. They will be governed by mutual interest, and will cultivate a spirit of mutual amity and concord.

Is it not, we may ask these projectors in politics, the true interest of all nations to cultivate the same benevolent and philosophic spirit? Is this be their true interest, have they in fact pursued it? How is it, on the contrary, invariably to be found, that mercenary politicians and lucrative tradesmen have a more active and imposing control over human conduct than general reasons and exalted principles of policy, utility, or justice? Have republics in practice been less addicted to war than monarchies? Are not the former administered by men as well as the latter? Are there not ambition, private interests, and selfish passions, in little republics, as well as in great ones? Are not popular assemblies frequently subject to the impulses of rage, resentment, jealousy, avarice, and of other violent and violent propensities? Is it not well known that their deliberations are often governed by a few individuals, in whom they place confidence, and are of course liable to be influenced by the politics and views of those individuals? Has commerce hitherto done any thing more than change the objects of war? Is not the love of wealth as domineering and rapacious a passion as that of power or glory? Have there not been

NOTES.

* Madame de Maintenon.
† Duchess of Marlborough.
‡ Madame de Pompadour.

a unity were founded upon commercial motives, have not been the prevailing Idols of nations, as were before mentioned by the epithet of usurpers or absolute? How are the Spirit of commerce, in many instances, administered new inventions to the opposite ends for the one and for the other? Let experience, the best infallible guide of human opinions, be appealed to for an answer to these enquiries.

Sparta, Athens, Rome, and Carthage, were all republics; two of them, Athens and Carthage, of the commercial kind. Yet were they as often engaged in wars, offensive and defensive, as the neighbouring monarchies of the same times. Sparta was little better than a well regulated camp; and Rome was never fond of commerce and conquest.

Carthage, though a commercial republic, was the opposite in the very way that ended in her destruction. Hannibal had carried his arms into the heart of Italy, and to the gates of Rome, before he left, in turn, great room to contribute to the necessities of Carthage, and make a conquest of the commonwealth.

Venice, in later times, figured more than once in wars of ambition; till becoming an object of terror to the other Italian States, pope Julius the Second, found means to accomplish that formidable league*, which gave a deadly blow to the power and pride of this haughty republic.

The provinces of Holland, till they were overwhelmed in debts and taxes, took a leading and conspicuous part in the wars of Europe. They had furious quarrels with England

NOTE.

* The league of Cambray, comprehending the emperor, the king of France, the king of Arragon, and most of the Italian princes and states,

for the dominion of the sea, and were among the most persevering and most formidable of the opponents of Louis XIV.

In the government of Britain, the republican use of the people controuls the bounds of the national legislature. Commerce has been, for ages, the predominant portion of that country. Few nations, nevertheless, have been more frequently engaged in war; and the wars, in which that kingdom has been engaged, have in numerous instances proceeded from the people.

These have been, if I may so express it, almost as many popular as royal wars. The cries of the nation, and the importunities of their representatives, have, upon various occasions, dragged their monarchs into war, or continued them in it contrary to their inclinations, and sometimes contrary to the real interests of the state. In that memorable struggle for superiority, between the rival houses of Austria and Bourbon, which so long kept Europe in a flame, it is well known that the antipathies of the English against the French, fomenting the ambition, or rather the avarice of a favourite leader*, prompted the war beyond the limits marked out by found policy, and for a considerable time in opposition to the views of the court.

The wars of these two laft mentioned nations have in a great measure grown out of commercial emulations—the desire of supplanting, and the fear of being supplanted, either in particular branches of traffic, or in the general advantages of trade and navigation.

From this summary of what has taken place in other countries, while Americans have learnt the appeal to Providence to our own, what reason

NOTE.

* The duke of Marlborough.

ons we have to confide in their re-
solves, which would follow as long
as experience of power and confi-
dence between the members of the pre-
sent confederacy, in a state of ope-
ration? Have we not already lost
enough of the fidelity and sacredness
of duty, like theories which have enabled us with promises of an
exemption from the imperfections,
weaknesses, and evils incident to so-
ciety in every shape? Is it not time
we awoke from the deceitful dream
of a golden age, and to adopt, as a
practical maxim, for the direction of
our political conduct, that we, as
well as the other inhabitants of the
globe, are yet remote from the hap-
py empire of perfect wisdom and per-
fect virtue!

Let the price of extreme depreciation
to which our national dignity and
credit have sunk—let the inconveni-
encies felt every where from a lax
and ill administration of government
—let the revolt of a part of the line
of North Carolina—the late mu-
tinous disturbances in Pennsylvania,
and the actual insurrections and re-
bellions in Massachusetts—declare!

So far is the general flock of mankind from corresponding with the
opinion of those, who endeavour to
fill them with apprehensions of dis-
cord and hostility between the states,
in the event of disunion, that is, in-
stead of the experience of the pre-
sent, or history, become a part of
wisdom in politicks, that vicinity, or
approach of location, conduces emi-
nently to amicable connexion. An intelligent
writer expresses himself on this subject
in this style:—"neighbouring nati-
ons (says he) are naturally enemies of
each other, unless their common
weakness forces them to league in a
confederate republic, and their com-
mercial intercourse (the difference that
neighbourhood occasions, extinguish-
es) that loves jealously which di-
vides all those to irreconcilable dis-
likes as the aspects of their neigh-
bours."* This passage at the same time points out the evil, and suggests the remedy.

PUBLIUS.

New York, Nov. 17, 1787.

(To be continued).

The objections of the hon. George Mason, one of the delegates from Virginia, to the late continental convention, as the projected federal constitution, offered to the convention for not signing the same.

THERE is no declaration of rights: and the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitutions of the several states, the declarations of rights, in the separate states, are no security. Nor are the people secured even in the enjoyment of the benefit of the common law, which stands here upon no other foundation, than its having been adopted by the respective acts forming the constitutions of the several states.

In the house of representatives there is not the substance, but the shadow only of representation; which can never produce proper confidence in the government, or afford any security to the people. The laws will, therefore, be generally made by men little concerned in, and unaffected with their effects and consequences†.

The senate have the power of altering all money-bills, and of eligh-

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vers.

* Vide principes des negotiations par l'Abbe de Mably.

† This objection has been in some degree lessened, by an amendment since before related, and at bill made by an order, after the engrossment upon parchment, of the word [illegible] and inserting thirty. In the third clause of the second section of the first article.

using appropriations of money, and the choice of the officers of their own appointment, in conjunction with the president of the united states—although they are not the representatives of the people, or responsible to them. Their, with their other great powers, (viz. their power in the appointment of ambassadors, and all public officers, in making treaties, and in trying all impeachments), their influence upon, and connection with, the supreme executive from their casual, their duration of office, and their being a constant existing body, almost continually sitting, joined with their being one complete branch of the legislature, will destroy any balance in the government, and enable them to accomplish what usurpations they please, upon the rights and liberties of the people.

The judiciary of the united states is so constructed and extended, as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several states; thereby rendering law as uncertain, inconvenient, and expensive, and justice as unattainable by a great part of the community, as in England; and enabling the rich to oppress and ruin the poor.

The president of the united states has no constitutional council (a thing unknown in any free and regular government): he will therefore be unprepared by proper information and advice; and will generally be directed by minions and favourites—or he will become a tool to the senate—or a council of state will grow out of the principal officers of the great departments—the worst and most dangerous of all ingredients for such a council, in a free country; for they may be induced to join in any dangerous or oppressive measures, to screen themselves, and prevent an enquiry into their own misconduct in office. Whereas had a constitutional council been formed (as was proposed) of six members, viz. two from the eastern, two from the middle, and two from the southern states, to be appointed by vote of the states in the house of representatives, with the same duration and rotation of office as the senate, the executive would always have had safe and proper information and advice: the president of such a council might have acted as vice-president of the united states, pro tempore, upon any vacancy or disability of the chief magistrate; and long continued debates of the senate would in a great measure have been prevented. From this fatal defect of a constitutional council, has arisen the improper power of the senate, in the appointment of public officers, and the alarming dependence and connection between that branch of the legislature and the supreme executive. Hence also [prung the unnecessary and dangerous office, the vice-president, who for want of other employment, is made president of the senate; thereby dangerously blending the executive and legislative powers; besides always giving to those one of the states an unnecessary and unjust pre-eminence over the others.

The president of the united states has the constitutional power of granting pardon for treason; which may be sometimes exercised to screen from punishment those whom he had secretly instigated to commit the crime, and thereby prevent a discovery of his own guilt. By declaring all treaties supreme laws of the land, the executive and the senate have, in many cases, an exclusive power of legislation; which might have been avoided, by proper distinctions with respect to treaties, and requiring the aid of the house of representatives, where it could be done with safety.

By requiring only a majority to make all commercial and navigation laws, the five southern states (whose produce and circumstances are totally different from those of the eight

members and others (taxes) will be raised: for such rigid and penal laws regulations may be made, as will enable the merchants of the northern and eastern states not only to demand an exorbitant freight, but to monopolize the purchase of the commodities, at their own price, for many years, to the great injury of the landed interest, and impoverishment of the people: and the danger in the greater, as the gain on one side will be in proportion to the loss on the other. Whereas, requiring two-thirds of the members present in both houses, would have produced mutual moderation, promoted the general interest, and removed an insuperable objection to the adoption of the government.

Under their own constitutions of the several states as the end of their associated powers, the congress may grant exemptions in trade and commerce, confirm new orders, inflict capital and severe punishments, and extend their powers as far as they shall think proper; to that the free legislatures are no security for the powers now entrusted to them; or the people for their rights. There is no distinction of any kind for preserving the liberty of the press, the trial by jury in civil cases, nor against the danger of standing armies in time of peace.

The state legislatures are restrained from laying export duties on their own produce, the general legislature is restrained from prohibiting the further importation of slaves for twenty odd years, though both importations under the united states orders, were miserable, and left capable of future relief: the general legislature, and the state legislatures, are expressly prohibited making ex post facto laws, though there never was, nor can be, a legislature, but will and will make such laws, when neither will the public safety require them, which will hereafter be a breach of all the constitutions in the union, and of itself punishable for other reasons.

This government will commence in a moderate arbitrary; it is a problem impossible to foretell whether it will, in its operation, produce a monarchy, or a corrupt oligarchic arbitrary; it will most probably continue some years between the two, and then terminate in the one or the other.

The subject, and reasons of dissent, of the minority of the convention of the state of Pennsylvania, to their constituents.

IT was not until after the constitution of the late glorious revolution, which made the people of the united states an independent nation, that any defect was discovered in the present confederation. It was formed by some of the ablest patriots in America. It carried us triumphantly through the war; and the virtue and patriotism of the people, with their disposition to promote the common ends, supplied the want of power in congress.

The acquisition of congress for the first year, ceased with the peace, to end on the 1st of February, 1781; but was prevented taking effect by the unanimity of our state. Yet it is probable every state in the union would have agreed to this measure, at that period, had it not been for the circumstances under which it was demanded. The acquisition was now extended to 1783, and accompanied with an additional demand of certain duties necessary funds for 25 years. Both had now taken place; and the united states should determine whether they will grant a considerable increase of the same duties, levied during the war

The requisition of 1783 was commensurate with the interest of the debt, as it was then calculated; but it has been more accurately ascertained since that time. The domestic debt has been found to fall several millions of dollars short of the calculation: and it has lately been considerably diminished by large sales of the western lands. The states have been called on by congress, annually, for supplies, until the general system of finance, projected in 1783, should take place.

It was at this time that the want of an efficient federal government was first complained of; and that the powers vested in congress were found to be inadequate to the procuring of the benefits that should result from the union. The requisition was granted by most of the states: but many refused the supplementary funds. The annual requisitions were for ever brought by some of the states; while others complied with them by legislative acts, but were tardy in their payments: and congress found themselves incapable of complying with their engagements, and supporting the federal government. It was found that our national character was sinking in the opinion of foreign nations. The congress could make treaties of commerce; but could not enforce the observance of them. We were suffering from the restrictions of foreign nations, who had shackled our commerce, while we were unable to retaliate: and all now agreed, that it would be advantageous to the union to enlarge the powers of congress; that they should be enabled in the amplest manner to regulate commerce, and to lay and collect duties on the imports throughout the united states. With this view a convention was first proposed by Virginia, and finally recommended by congress for the different states to appoint deputies to meet in convention, "for the purpose of reviewing and amending the present articles of confederation, so as to make them adequate to the exigencies of the union." This recommendation the legislatures of twelve states complied with so fully as not to confine their conventions on the subject; and though the different legislatures had no authority from their constituents for the purpose, they probably apprehended the necessity would justify the measure; and none of them extended their ideas at that time further than "reviving and amending the present articles of confederation." Pennsylvania, by the act appointing deputies, expressly confined their powers to this object; and though it is probable that some of the members of the assembly of this state had, at that time, in contemplation to annihilate the present confederation, as well as the constitution of Pennsylvania, yet the plan was not sufficiently matured to communicate it to the public.

The majority of the legislature of this commonwealth, were at that time under the influence of the members from the city of Philadelphia. They agreed that the deputies sent by them to convention should have no compensation for their services, which determination was calculated to prevent the election of any members who resided at a distance from the city. It was in vain for the minority to attempt electing delegates to the convention, who understood the circumstances, and the feelings of the people, and had a common interest with them. They found a disposition in the leaders of the majority of the house, to *choose* themselves and some of their dependants. The minority attempted to prevent this by agreeing to vote for three of the leading members, who, they knew, had influence enough to be appointed at any rate, in hopes of carrying with them some respectable citizens of Philadelphia, to whom

principles and longing they could have more confidence; but even in this they were disappointed, except in one member: the eighth member was added at a subsequent fession of the assembly.

The continental convention met in the city of Philadelphia at the time appointed. It was composed of some men of excellent characters; of others who were more remarkable for their ambition and cunning, than their patriotism; and of some who had been opponents to the independence of the united states. The delegates from Pennsylvania were, fix of them, uniform and decided opponents to the confideration of this commonwealth. The convention fat upwards of four months. The doors were kept fhut, and the members brought under the moft falemn engagements of fecrecy*. Some of thofe who oppofed their going fo far beyond their powers, retired, hopelefs, from the convention; others had the ftrength to refufe figning the plan altogether: and many, who did fign it, did it not as a fyftem they wholly approved, but as the beft that could be then obtained: and notwithftanding the clofe fecrecy on this fubject, it is agreed on all hands to be a work of hafte and accommodation.

Whilft the gilded chains were forging in the fecret conclave, the meaner inftruments of defpotifm without, were bufily employed in alarming the fears of the people with dangers which did not exift, and exciting their hopes of greater advantages from the expected plan, than even the beft government on earth could produce.

The propofed plan had not many hours iffued forth from the womb of fufpicious fecrecy, until fuch as were prepared for the purpofe, were carrying about petitions for people to fign, fatisfying their ignorance of the fyftem, and requefting the legiflature to call a convention. While every meafure was taken to intimidate the people againft oppofing it, the public papers teemed with the moft violent threats againft thofe who fhould dare to think for themfelves: and tar and feathers were liberally promifed to all thofe who would not immediately join in fupporting the propofed government, be it what it would. Under fuch circumftances, petitions in favour of calling a convention were figned by great numbers in and about the city, before they had leifure to read and examine the fyftem, many of whom, now they are better acquainted with it, and have had time to investigate its principles, are heartily oppofed to it. The petitions were fpeedily handed in to the legiflature.

Affairs were in this ferment, when on the 28th of September laft, a refolution was propofed to the aflembly by a member of the houfe, who had been alfo a member of the federal convention, for calling a ftate convention, to be elected within ten days, for the purpofe of examining and adopting the propofed conftitution of the united ftates, though at this time the houfe had not received it from congrefs. This attempt was oppofed by a minority, who, after offering every argument in their power, to prevent the precipitate meafure, without effect, abfented themfelves from the houfe, as the only alternative left them, to prevent the meafure taking place, previous to their conftituents being made acquainted with the bufinefs.

That violence and outrage, which had been fo often threatened, was now practifed. Some of the members were feized the next day, by a mob collected for the purpofe; and forcibly dragged to the houfe; and then

NOTE.

* The journals of the conclave are ftill concealed.

destined by force, while the quorum of the legislature, *de jure*, completed their institution.

We shall dwell no longer on this subject. The people of Pennsylvania have been already acquainted therewith.

We would only further observe, that every member of the legislature, previously to taking his seat, by solemn oath or affirmation, declares, "that they will not do or conduct to any act or thing whatever, that shall have a tendency to lessen or abridge their rights and privileges, as declared in the constitution of this state." And that constitution, which they are so solemnly sworn to support, cannot legally be altered, but by a recommendation of the council of censors, who alone are authorized to propose alterations and amendments: and even these must be published at least six months for the consideration of the people.

The proposed system of government for the united states, if adopted, will alter, and may annihilate the constitution of Pennsylvania: and therefore the legislature had no authority whatever to recommend the calling a convention for that purpose. This proceeding could not be considered as binding on the people of this commonwealth. The house was formed by violence. Some of the members composing it, were detained there by force; which, alone, would have vitiated any proceedings, to which they were otherwise competent: but had the legislature been legally formed, this business was absolutely without their powers.

In this situation of affairs, were the subscribers elected members of the convention of Pennsylvania—a convention called by a legislature, in direct violation of their duty, and compelled in part of members who were compelled to attend for that purpose, to consider of a constitution proposed by a convention of the united states, who were not appointed for the purpose of framing a new form of government, but whose powers were expressly confined to altering and amending the present articles of confederation. Therefore the members of the continental convention, in proposing the plan, acted as individuals, and not as deputies from Pennsylvania *. The assembly, who called the state convention, acted as individuals, and not as the legislature of Pennsylvania: nor could they, or the convention chosen on their recommendation, have authority to do any act or thing, that can alter or annihilate the constitution of Pennsylvania—both of which will be done by the new confederation: nor are their proceedings, in our opinion, at all binding on the people.

The election, for members of the convention, was held at so early a period, and the want of information was so great, that some of us did not know of it, until after it was over: and we have reason to believe, that great numbers of the people of Pennsylvania have not yet had an opportunity of sufficiently examining the proposed constitution. We apprehend, that no change can take place, that will affect the internal government or constitution of this commonwealth, unless a majority of the people should evidence a wish for such a

NOTE.

* *The continental convention, in direct violation of the 13th article of the confederation, have declared, "that the ratification of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution, between the states so ratifying the same." Thus has the plighted faith of the states been sported with! They had solemnly engaged, that the confederation were inviolably preserved by each of them, and the union thereby formed, should be perpetual, unless the same should be altered by mutual consent.*

change. But on examining the number of votes, given for members of the present state convention, we find, [illegible] of upwards of twenty thousand freemen, who are entitled to vote in Pennsylvania, the whole convention has been elected by about thirteen thousand votes: and though two thirds of the members of the convention have thought proper to ratify the proposed constitution, yet those two thirds were elected by the votes of only six thousand and eight hundred freemen.

In the city of Philadelphia, and three of the united counties, the people that took the lead in the business, agreed to vote for none but such as would solemnly promise to adopt the system in toto, without exercising their judgment.

In many of the counties, the people did not attend the elections, as they had not an opportunity of judging of the plan.

Others did not consider themselves bound by the call of a few of men, who assembled at the State house in Philadelphia, and elected the name of the legislature of Pennsylvania: and hence were prevented from voting by the violence of the party, who were determined at all events to force down the measure.

To such lengths did the souls of desperate carry their courage, that in the night of the election for members of convention, in the city of Philadelphia, (several of the subscribers, being then in the city on transient your business) were grossly abused, ill-treated, and insulted, while they were quiet in their lodgings, though they did not interfere, nor had any thing to do with the said election, but, as they apprehend, because they were supposed to be adverse to the proposed constitution, and would not tamely surrender their sacred rights, which you had committed to their charge.

The convention met: and the same disposition was soon manifested in considering the proposed constitution, that had been exhibited in every other stage of the business. We were prohibited, by an unjustifiable rule of the convention, from taking any question on the separate articles of the plan; and reduced to the mortifying alternative of adopting or rejecting in toto. 'Tis true, the majority permitted us to debate on each article; but restrained us from proposing amendments. They also determined not to permit us to enter on the minutes our reasons of dissent against any of the articles, nor even on the final question, our reasons of dissent against the whole.

Thus limited, we entered on the examination of the proposed system of government; and found it to be such as we could not adopt, without, as we conceived, surrendering up your dearest rights. We offered our objections to the convention; and opposed those parts of the plan, which, in our opinion, would be injurious to you, in the full manner we were able; and clothed our arguments by offering the following propositions to the convention:

1. THAT the right of conscience shall be held inviolable, and neither the legislative, executive, nor judicial powers of the united states, shall have authority to alter, abrogate, or infringe any part of the constitutions of the several states, which provide for the preservation of liberty in matters of religion.

2. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, trial by jury shall remain as heretofore, as well in the federal courts, as in those of the several states.

3. That in all capital and criminal prosecutions, a man has a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, as well in the federal courts, as in those of the several states, to be heard by himself and

his council; to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses; to call for evidence in his favour, and a speedy trial, by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent, he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; and that no man be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

8. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishments inflicted.

9. That warrants unsupported by evidence, whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded or required to search suspected places, or to seize any person or persons, his or their property, not particularly described, are grievous and oppressive, and shall not be granted either by the magistrates of the federal government or others.

10. That the people have a right to the freedom of speech, of writing and publishing their sentiments; therefore, the freedom of the press shall not be restrained by any law of the united states.

11. That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and their own state, or the united states, or for the purpose of killing game; and no law shall be passed for disarming the people, or any of them, unless for crimes committed, or real danger of public injury from individuals. And as standing armies in the time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up: and that the military shall be kept under strict subordination to, and be governed by, the civil powers.

12. That the inhabitants of the several states shall have liberty to hunt and fish, in seasonable times, on the lands they hold, and on all other lands in the united states, not enclosed; and in like manner to fish in all navigable waters, and others, not private property, without being restrained therein, by any laws to be passed by the legislature of the united states.

13. That no law shall be passed to subvert the legislatures of the several states, from enacting laws for imposing taxes, except imposts and duties on goods imported or exported; and that no taxes, except imposts and duties upon goods imported and exported, and postage on letters, shall be levied by the authority of congress.

14. That the mode of appointing elections be properly intended in our law; that elections shall remain free, that the several states shall have power to regulate the elections for senators and representatives, without being controuled either directly or indirectly, by any interference on the part of congress; and that elections of representatives be annual.

15. That the power of organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, (the manner of disciplining the militia to be prescribed by congress) remain with the individual states; and that congress shall not have authority to call or march any of the militia out of their own state, without the consent of such state, and for such length of time only as such state shall agree.

That the sovereignty, freedom and independency of the several states shall be retained, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the united states in congress assembled.

17. That the legislative, executive, and judicial powers be kept separate; and to this end, that a constitutional council be appointed to advise and assist the president, who shall be responsible for the advice they give; by which the treasure would be relieved from almost constant attendance; and also that the judges be made completely independent.

13. That no treaty which shall be directly opposed to the existing laws of the united states in congress assembled, shall be valid until such laws shall be repealed or made conformable to such treaty; neither shall any treaties be valid which are contradictory to the constitution of the united states, or the constitutions of the individual states.

14. That the judiciary power of the united states shall be confined to cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, to cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, to controversies to which the united states shall be a party—to controversies between two or more states—between a state and citizens of different states—between citizens claiming lands under grants of different states—and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states; and in criminal cases, to such only as are expressly enumerated in the constitution; and that the united states in congress assembled, shall not have power to enact laws, which shall alter the laws of descents and distributions of the effects of deceased persons, the titles of lands or goods, or the regulations of controuls in the individual states.

After making these propositions, we declared our willingness to agree to the plan, provided it was so amended as to meet these propositions; or something similar to them: and finally moved the convention to adjourn, to give the people of Pennsylvania time to consider the subject, and determine for themselves: but these were all rejected, and the final vote was taken, when our duty to you induced us to vote against the proposed plan, and to decline signing the ratification of the same.

During the discussion, we met with many insults, and some personal abuse. We were not even treated with decency, during the sitting of the convention, by the persons in the gallery of the house. However we flatter ourselves that in contending for the preservation of those invaluable rights you have thought proper to commit to your charge, we acted with a spirit becoming freemen; and being desirous that you might know the principles which actuated our conduct, and being prohibited from inserting our reasons of dissent on the minutes of the convention, we have subjoined them for your consideration, as to you alone we are accountable. It remains with you, whether you will think those inestimable privileges, which you have so ably contended for, should be sacrificed at the shrine of despotism, or whether you mean to contend for them with the same spirit that has so often baffled the attempts of an aristocratic faction, to rivet the shackles of slavery on you, and your unborn posterity.

Our objections are comprised under three general heads of dissent, viz.

WE dissent, 1st, because it is the opinion of the most celebrated writers on government, and confirmed by uniform experience, that a very extensive territory cannot be governed on the principles of freedom, otherwise than by a confederation of republics, possessing all the powers of internal government; but united in the management of their general, and foreign concerns.

If any doubt could have been entertained of the truth of the foregoing principle, it has been fully removed by the speeches of mr. Wilson, one of the majority on this question, and who was one of the deputies in the late general convention. In justice to him, we will give his own words. They are as follows, viz. "The extent of country, for which the new constitution was required, produced another difficulty in the business of the federal conven-

ties. It is the opinion of some celebrated writers, that to a small territory the democratical—to a middling territory, as Montesquieu has termed it, a monarchial—and to an extensive territory, the despotic form of government is best adapted. Regarding, then, the wide and almost unbounded jurisdiction of the united states, at full view, the hand of despotism formed ancillary to control, connect, and protect it? and hence the chief embarrassment arose. For we know, that, although our constituents would cheerfully submit to the legislative restraints of a free government, they would spurn at every attempt to shackle them with despotic power." And again, in another part of his speech, he continues: "Is it probable, that a dissolution of the state governments, and the establishment of one consolidated empire, would be eligible in its nature, and satisfactory to the people in its administration? I think not: as I have given reasons to shew, that so extensive a territory could not be ruled but by the supremacy of despotic power. All the extensions of the most potent emperors of Rome were not capable of keeping that empire together, which, in extent, was far inferior to the dominion of America."

WE differ, *secondly*, because the powers vested in congress by this constitution, must necessarily annihilate and absorb the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the several states; and produce, from their ruins, one consolidated government, which, from the nature of things, will be an iron-handed despotism, as nothing short of the supremacy of despotic sway could connect and govern these united states under one government.

As the truth of this position is of such decisive importance, it ought to be fully investigated: and, if it is founded, to be clearly ascertained; for, should it be demonstrated, that the powers vested by this constitution in congress, will have such an effect as necessarily to produce one consolidated government, the question then will be reduced to this *short* one, viz. whether, fastened with the bleedings of liberty—whether repenting of the folly of so recently alienating their unalienable rights, against foreign despots, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, and such painful and arduous struggles—the people of America are now willing to resign every privilege of freemen, and submit to the imposition of an absolute government, that will enthrone all America in one chain of despotism? or whether they will, with virtuous indignation, spurn at the shackles prepared for them—and confirm their liberties by a conduct becoming freemen?

That the new government will not be a confederacy of states, as it ought, but one consolidated government, founded upon the destruction of the several governments of the states, we shall now shew.

The powers of congress, under the new constitution, are complete and unlimited over the purse and the sword; and are perfectly independent of, and supreme over, the state governments, whose intervention in such great points, is entirely destroyed. By virtue of their power of taxation, congress may command the whole, or any part of the property of the people. They may impose what imposts upon commerce—they may impose what land-taxes, poll-taxes, excises, duties on all written instruments, and duties on every other article that they may judge proper. In short, every species of taxation, whether of an external or internal nature, is comprised in section the 8th, of article the 1st, viz. "the congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide

for the common defence and general welfare of the united states."

As there is no one article of taxation reserved to the state governments, the congress may monopolize every source of revenue; and thus indirectly demolish the state governments: for, without funds, they could not exist. The taxes, duties, and excises, imposed by congress, may be so high, as to render it impracticable to levy any further sums on the same articles. But whether this should be the case or not, if the state governments should presume to impose taxes, duties, or excises, on the same articles with congress, the latter may abrogate and repeal the laws whereby they are imposed, upon the allegation, that they interfere with the due collection of their taxes, duties or excises, by virtue of the following clause, part of section 8th, article 1st, viz. "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the united states, or in any department or officer thereof."

The congress might gloss over this conduct by confining every purpose for which the state legislatures now lay taxes, to be for the "general welfare," and therefore as of their jurisdiction.

And the supremacy of the laws of the united states is established by article 6th, viz. "that this constitution, and the laws of the united states, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, and which shall be made, under the authority of the united states, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; any thing in the constitutions or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." It has been alleged, that the words, "pursuant to the constitution," are a restriction upon the authority of congress; but when it is considered, that by other sections, they are invested with every efficient power of government, and which may be extended to the absolute destruction of the state governments, without any violation of even the forms of the constitution, this seeming restriction, as well as every other restriction in it, appears to us to be nugatory and delusive; and only introduced as a blind upon the real nature of the government. In our opinion, "pursuant to the constitution," will be coextensive with the will and pleasure of congress, which, indeed, will be the only limitation of their powers.

We apprehend that two co-ordinate sovereignties would be a solecism in politics. Thus, therefore, as there is no line of distinction drawn between the general, and state governments—as the sphere of their jurisdiction is undefined—it would be contrary to the nature of things, that both should exist together; one or the other would necessarily triumph in the fullness of dominion. However, the conteſt could not be of long continuance, as the state governments are divested of every means of defence, and will be obliged by "the supreme law of the land" to yield an obedience.

It has been objected to this total destruction of the state governments, that the existence of their legislatures is made essential to the organization of congress; that they must elect the senators and president general of the united states. True, the state legislatures may be continued for some years, as boards of appointment, namely, after they are divested of every other function: but the framers of this constitution, foreseeing that the people will soon be disgusted with this solemn mockery of a government without power and obligation, have made a provision for relieving them from the imputation, in section 4th, of

article 18, viz. "the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed, in each state, by the legislature thereof: but the congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of chusing senators."

As congress have the controul over the time of the appointment of the president-general, of the senators, and of the representatives of the united states, they may prolong their existence in office, for life, by postponing the time of their election and appointment, from period to period, under various pretences, such as, apprehensions of invasion, the factious disposition of the people, or any other plausible pretence that the occasion may suggest: and having thus obtained life offices in the government, they may fill up the vacancies themselves, by their controul over the mode of appointment—with this exception, in regard to the senators, that as the place of appointment for them, must, by the constitution, be in the particular state, they may depute some body in the respective states, to fill up the vacancies in the senate, occasioned by death, until they can venture to assume it themselves. In this manner, may the only restriction in this clause be evaded. By virtue of the foregoing section, when the spirit of the people shall be gradually broken—when the general government shall be firmly established—and when a numerous standing army shall render opposition vain—the congress may complete the system of despotism, by removing all dependence on the people, by continuing themselves and children in the government.

The celebrated Montesquieu, in his Spirit of Laws, vol. I. p. 12, says, "that in a democracy, there can be no exercise of sovereignty, but by the suffrages of the people, which are their will: now the sovereign's will is the sovereign himself: the laws, therefore, which establish the right of suffrage, are fundamental to this government. In fact, it is as important to regulate, in a republic, in what manner, by whom, and concerning what, suffrages are to be given, as it is in a monarchy to know who is the prince, and after what manner he ought to govern." The time, mode, and place, of the election of representatives, senators, and president general of the united states, ought not to be under the controul of congress, but fundamentally ascertained and established.

The new constitution, conformably with the plan of confederation, contains no reservation of the rights and privileges of the state governments, which was made in the confederation of the year 1778, by article the 2d, viz. "that each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the united States in congress assembled."

The legislative power, vested in congress by the foregoing recited sections, is so unlimited in its nature, may be so comprehensive and boundless in its exercise, that this alone would be amply sufficient to annihilate the state governments, and swallow them up in the grand vortex of general empire.

The judicial powers, vested in congress, are also so various and extensive, that by legal ingenuity they may be extended to every case, and thus absorb the state judiciaries: and when we consider the decisive influence, that a general judiciary would have over the civil polity of the several states, we do not hesitate to pronounce, that this power, assisted by the legislative, would effect a consolidation of the states under one government.

The powers of a court of equity, vested by this constitution in the ju-

branch of congress—powers which do not exist in the state of Pennsylvania, and which so far as they can be incorporated with jury trial—would, in this state, greatly contribute to this event. The rich and wealthy former would eagerly lay hold of the infinite mazes, perplexities, and delays, which a court of chancery, with the appellate powers of the supreme court, in fact, as well as law, would furnish him with, and then the poor man being plunged in the bottomless pit of legal discussion, would drop his demand in despair.

In short, consolidation pervades the whole constitution. It begins with an announciation that such was the intention. The main pillars of the fabric correspond with it: and the concluding paragraph is a confirmation of it. The preamble begins with the words, "We, the people of the united states," which is the style of a compact between individuals entering into a state of society, and not that of a confederation of states. The other features of consolidation, we have before noticed.

Thus we have fully established the position, that the powers vested by this constitution in congress, will effect a consolidation of the states under one government, which even the advocates of this constitution admit, could not be done without the sacrifice of all liberty.

WE differ, thirdly, because, if it were practicable to govern so extensive a territory as their united states include, on the plan of a consolidated government, consistent with the principles of liberty and the happiness of the people, yet the construction of this constitution is not calculated to attain the object; for, independent of the nature of the case, it would of itself, necessarily produce a despotism, and that not by the usual gradations, but with the velocity that has hitherto only attended revolutions effected by the sword.

To establish the truth of this position, a cursory investigation of the principles and form of this constitution will follow.

The first consideration that this review suggests, is the omission of a bill of rights, ascertaining and fundamentally establishing those inalienable and personal rights of men, without the full, free, and secure enjoyment of which, there can be no liberty, and over which it is not necessary for a good government to have the control. The principal of which are, the rights of conscience, personal liberty, by the clear and unequivocal establishment of the writ of habeas corpus, jury trial in criminal and civil cases, by an impartial jury of the vicinage or county, with the common law proceedings for the safety of the accused in criminal prosecutions, and the liberty of the press, that *Gorgon* of tyrants, and the grand bulwark of every other liberty and privilege. The stipulations heretofore made in favour of them, in the state constitutions, are entirely superseded by this constitution.

The legislature of a free country should be so formed as to have a competent knowledge of its constituents, and enjoy their confidence. To produce these essential requisites, the representation ought to be fair, equal, and sufficiently numerous to possess the same interests, feelings, opinions, and views, which the people themselves would possess, were they all assembled; and so numerous as to prevent bribery and undue influence; and so responsible to the people, by frequent and fair elections, as to prevent their neglecting or facrificing the views and interests of their constituents, to their own purposes.

We will now bring the legislature, under this constitution, to the test of the foregoing principles, which will

demonstrate, that it is deficient in every essential quality of a just and safe representation.

The house of representatives is to consist of sixty-five members; that is, one for about every fifty thousand inhabitants, to be chosen every two years. Thirty-three members will form a quorum for doing business, and seventeen of these, being the majority, determine the fate of the house.

The senate, the other constituent branch of the legislature, consists of twenty-six members, being two from each state, appointed by their legislatures every six years—fourteen senators make a quorum; the majority of whom, eight, determines the fate of that body: except in judging on impeachments, or in making treaties, or in expelling a member, when two thirds of the senators present, must concur.

The president is to have the controul over the enacting of laws, so far as to make the concurrence of two thirds of the representatives and senators present necessary, if he should object to the laws.

Thus it appears, that the liberties, happiness, interests, and great concerns of the whole united states, may be dependent upon the integrity, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge of twenty-one or twenty-six men. How inadequate and unfair a representation! inadequate, because the feelings and views of three or four millions of people, diffused over so extensive a territory, comprising such various climates, products, habits, interests, and opinions, cannot be collected in so small a body; and besides, it is not a fair and equal representation of the people, even in proportion to its number: for the smallest state has as much weight in the senate as the largest; and from the smallness of the number to be chosen for both branches of the legislature—and from the mode of election and appointment, which is under the controul of congress—and from the nature of the thing—men of the most elevated rank in life, will alone be chosen. The other orders in society, such as farmers, traders, and mechanics, who all ought to have a competent number of their best informed men in the legislature, will be totally unrepresented.

The representation is unfair, because in the exercise of such great powers and trusts, it is so exposed to corruption and undue influence, by the gift of the numerous places of honour and emolument, at the disposal of the executive; by the arts and address of the great and designing; and by direct bribery.

The representation is moreover inadequate and unfair, because of the long term for which it is appointed, and the mode of its appointment, by which congress may not only controul the choice of the people, but may so manage as to divest the people of this fundamental right, and become self-elected.

The number of members in the house of representatives may be increased to one for every thirty thousand inhabitants. But when we consider, that this cannot be done without the consent of the senate, who, from their share in the legislative, in the executive, and judicial departments, and permanency of appointment, will be the great efficient body in this government, and whose weight and predominancy would be abridged by an increase of the representatives, we are persuaded that this is a circumstance that cannot be expected. On the contrary, the number of representatives will probably be continued at sixty-five, although the population of the country may swell to treble what it now is; unless a revolution should effect a change.

We have before viewed the judicial power, as it would effect a consolidation of the states into one go-

government. We will now examine it, as it would affect the liberties and welfare of the people, supposing such a government were practicable and proper.

The judicial power, under the proposed constitution, is founded on the well-known principles of the civil law, by which the judge determines both on law and fact, and appeals are allowed from the inferior tribunals to the superior, upon the whole question; so that facts, as well as law, would be re-examined—and even new facts brought forward in the court of appeals; and, to use the words of a very eminent civilian—"The cause is many times another thing before the court of appeals, than what it was at the time of the first sentence."

That this mode of proceeding is the one which must be adopted under this constitution, is evident from the following circumstances:—First, that the trial by jury, which is the grand characteristic of the common law, is secured by the constitution, only in criminal cases. Secondly, that the appeal from both law and fact is expressly established, which is utterly inconsistent with the principles of the common law, and trials by jury. The only mode in which an appeal from law and fact can be established, is, by adopting the principles and practice of the civil law; unless the united States should be drawn into the absurdity of calling and swearing juries, merely for the purpose of contradicting their verdicts, which would render juries contemptible, and worth than useless. Thirdly, that the courts to be established, would decide on all cases of law and equity, which is a well known characteristic of the civil law, and their courts would have cognizance not only of the laws of the united States, and of treaties, and of cases affecting ambassadors, but of all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, which last are matters belonging exclusively to the civil law, in every nation in Christendom.

Not to enlarge upon the lofs of the inestimable right of trial by an impartial jury, so dear to every friend of liberty, the numberless expence and inconveniencies of the mode of proceeding to be adopted, are such, as will prove intolerable to the people of this country. The lengthy proceedings of the civil law courts in the chancery of England, and in the courts of Scotland and France, are such, that few men of moderate fortune can endure the expence of: the poor man must, therefore, submit to the wealthy. Length of purse will too often prevail against right and justice. For instance, we are told by the learned judge Blackstone, that a question, only on the property of an ox, of the value of three guineas, originating under the civil law proceedings in Scotland, after many interlocutory orders and decrees interlaw, was carried at length from the court of sessions, the highest court in that part of Great Britain, by way of appeal, to the house of lords, where the question of law and fact was finally determined. He adds, that no person or spirit could, in the court of king's bench, or common pleas, at Westminster, have given continuance to such a cause for a tenth part of the time, nor cost a twentieth part of the expence. Yet the costs, in the courts of king's bench, and common pleas, in England, are infinitely greater than those which the people of this country have ever experienced.

We abhor the idea of losing the transcendent privilege of trial by jury, with the lofs of which, it is remarked by the same learned author, that in Sweden the liberties of the commons were extinguished by an aristocratic faction: and that trial by jury, and the liberty of the people, went out together. As the same time, we ab-

gust the intolerable delay, the enormous expences, and infinite vexation, to which the people of this country will be exposed, from the voluminous proceedings of the courts of civil law, and especially from the appellate jurisdiction, by means of which, a man may be drawn from the utmost boundaries of this extensive country, to the seat of the supreme court of the union, to contend, perhaps, with a wealthy and powerful adversary. The consequence of this establishment will be, an absolute confirmation of the power of ecclesiastical influence in the courts of justice: for the common people will not be able to contend or struggle against it.

Trial by jury, in criminal cases, may also be excluded, by declaring that the libeller, for instance, shall be liable to an action at suit for a specified sum—thus evading the common law protection by indictment and trial by jury. And the common mode of proceeding against a ship for breach of revenue laws, by information (which will be ranked among civil causes), will, at the civil law, be within the mint of a court where no jury intervenes. Besides, the benefit of jury trial in cases of a criminal nature, which cannot be evaded, will be rendered of little value, by calling the accused to answer far from home—there being no provision that the trial be by a jury of the neighbourhood or country. Thus, an inhabitant of Pittsburgh, on a charge of a crime committed on the banks of the Ohio, may be obliged to defend himself at the side of the Delaware, and so vice versa.

To conclude this head: we observe, that the judges of the courts of congress would not be subject to dower, as there are not debarred from holding other offices, during the pleasure of the president and senate, and as they may devise their property, in part, from him, alienable by the legislature.

The next consideration that the constitution presents, is the undue and dangerous mixture of the powers of government: the form body publishing legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The senate is a constituent branch of the legislature; it has judicial power in judging on impeachments, and in this case sworn in some measure the members of judge and party, as all the principal officers are appointed by the president general, with the concurrence of the senate, and therefore they derive their offices in part from the senate. This may bias the judgments of the senators, and lead to favour great delinquents from punishment. And the senate has, moreover, various and great executive powers, viz. in conjunction with the president general, they have treaties with foreign nations, that they may contend and dissolve the constitutions and laws of the several states. Indeed, there is no power, privilege, or liberty of the state governments, or of the people, but what may be affected by virtue of this power: for all treaties made by them, are to be the "supreme law of the land, any thing in the constitutions or laws of any state notwithstanding."

And this great power may be exercised by the president and ten senators (being two thirds of senators, which is a quorum of that body). What an inducement would this offer to the members of foreign powers to corrupt, by bribery, such resolutions as could not otherwise be obtained? It is the universal sense of all free states, whenever treaties interfere with the positive laws of the land, to make the intervention of the legislature necessary to give them operation. This became necessary, and was afforded by the parliament of Great Britain, in consequence of the late commercial treaty between that kingdom and France. As the senate judges on impeachments, who

is to try the members of the senate, for the abuse of this power? And most of the great appointments to office can be made without the consent of the senate.

Such various, extensive, and important powers, combined in one body of men, are inconsistent with all freedom. The celebrated Montesquieu tells us, that "when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty, because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner."

Again, "there is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary controul: for the judge would then be legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with all the violence of an oppressor. There would be an end of every thing, were the same man, or the same body of the nobles, or of the people, to exercise those three powers; that of enacting laws; that of executing the public resolutions; and that of judging the crimes or differences of individuals."

The president general is dangerously connected with the senate. His coincidence with the views of the ruling junto in that body, is made essential to his weight and importance in the government, which will destroy all independency and purity in the executive department; and having the power of pardoning, without the concurrence of a council, he may screen from punishment the most treasonable attempts that may be made on the liberties of the people, when instigated by his confederates in the senate. Instead of this dangerous and improper mixture of the executive with the legislative and judicial, the supreme executive power ought to have been placed in the president, with a small subordinate council, made personally responsible for every appointment to office, or other act, by having their opinions recorded; and that without the concurrence of the majority of the persons of this council, the president should not be capable of taking any step.

We have before considered internal taxation, as it would affect the deliberations of the state governments, and produce one consolidated government. We will now consider that subject as it affects the personal concerns of the people.

The power of direct taxation applies to every individual: as congress, under this new government, is especially vested with the authority of laying a capitation or poll-tax upon every person, to any amount. This is a tax, that, however oppressive in its nature, and unequal in its operation, is certain as to its produce, and simple in its collection. It cannot be evaded, like the objects of import or excise; and will be paid, because all that a man hath, will he give for his head. This tax is so congenial to the nature of despotism, that it has ever been a favourite under such governments. Some of those who were in the late general convention, from this state, have long laboured to introduce a poll-tax among us.

The power of direct taxation will further apply to every individual: as congress may tax land, cattle, trades, occupations, &c. to any amount; and every object of internal taxation is of that nature, that, however oppressive, the people will have but this alternative, either to pay the tax, or let their property be taken, for all resistance will be vain. The standing army and select militia would enforce the collection.

For the moderate exercise of this

power, there is no control left in the state governments, whose intervention is destroyed. No relief or redress of grievances can be expected, as heretofore, by them. There is not even a declaration of rights, to which the people may appeal for the vindication of their wrongs, to the courts of justice. They must, therefore, implicitly obey the most arbitrary laws: as the weight of them will be pursuant to the principles and form of the constitution: and that strongest of all checks upon the conduct of administration, responsibility to the people, will not exist in this government. The permanency of the appointments of senators and representatives, and the controul the congress have over their election, will place them independent of the sentiments and resentments of the people: and the administration having a greater interest in the government, than in the community, there will be no consideration to restrain them from oppression and tyranny. In the government of this state, under the old confederation, the members of the legislature are taken from among the people: and their interests and welfare are so inseparably connected with those of their constituents, that they can derive no advantage from oppressive laws and taxes: for they would suffer in common with their fellow citizens; would participate in the burdens they impose on the community, as they must return to the common level, after a short period: and, notwithstanding every exertion of influence, every means of corruption, a *necessary rotation* excludes them from permanency in the legislature.

This large state is to have but ten members in that congress, which is to have the liberty, property, and dearest concerns of every individual in this vast country, at arbitrary command: and even these ten persons, who are to be our only guardians—who are to superintend the legislature of Pennsylvania—will not be of the choice of the people, nor amenable to them. From the mode of their election and appointment, they will consist of the lordly and high-minded—of men who will have no congenial feelings with the people, but a perfect indifference for, and contempt of them. They will consist of those harpies of power, that prey upon the very vitals—but rise on the miseries of the community. But we will suppose, although in all probability it may never be realized in fact, that our deputies in congress have the welfare of their constituents at heart, and will exert themselves in their behalf, what security could even this afford? what relief could they extend to their oppressed constituents? To attain this, the majority of the deputies of the twelve other states in congress must be alike well *disposed*—must alike forego the sweets of power—and relinquish the pursuits of ambition, which, from the nature of things, is not to be expected. If the people put with a responsible representation in the legislature, founded upon fair, certain, and frequent elections, they have nothing left they can call their own. Miserable is the lot of that people whose every concern depends on the will and pleasure of their rulers. Our fathers will become proselytes, and our efforts of government hitherto, in vain, the system of despotism will soon be completed.

From the foregoing investigation, it appears, that the congress, under this constitution, will not possess the confidence of the people, which is an essential requisite in a good government: for unless the laws command the confidence and respect of the great body of the people, so as to induce them to support them, when called on by the civil magistrate, they must be executed by the aid of a ar-

standing army, which would be inconsistent with every idea of liberty: for the same force that may be employed to compel obedience to good laws, might, and probably would, be used to wrest from the people their constitutional liberties. The framers of this constitution appear to have been aware of this great deficiency; to have been fearful that no dependence could be placed on the people for their support; but, on the contrary, that the government must be executed by force. They have, therefore, made a provision for this purpose, in a permanent standing army, and a militia that may be subjected to as strict discipline and government.

A standing army, in the hands of a government placed in independency of the people, may be made a fatal instrument to overturn the public liberties. It may be employed to enforce the collection of the most oppressive taxes, and to carry into execution the most arbitrary measures. An ambitious man, who may have the army at his devotion, may step up into the throne, and seize upon absolute power.

The absolute unqualified command that congress have over the militia, may be made instrumental to the destruction of all liberty, both public and private, whether of a personal, civil, or religious nature.

First: the personal liberty of every man, probably from fifteen to sixty years of age, may be destroyed by the power congress have in organizing and governing of the militia. As militia, they may be subjected to fines to any amount, levied in a military manner; they may be subjected to corporal punishments of the most disgraceful and humiliating kind, and to death itself, by the sentence of a court martial. To this our young men will be more immediately subjected: as a select militia, composed of them, will best enforce the principles of government.

Secondly: the rights of conscience may be violated: as there is no exemption of those persons, who on conscientiously scruples of bearing arms. Their compose a respectable proportion of the community in the state. This is the more remarkable, because, even when the distresses of the late war, and the evident disaffection of many citizens of that description, induced our publick council when every person, who was obliged to risque his own life, must have been exasperated, against such as on any account kept back from the common danger—yet even then, when outrage and violence might have been expected, the rights of conscience were held sacred.

At this momentous crisis, the framers of our state constitution, made the most express and decided declaration and stipulation in favour of the rights of conscience: but now, when no necessity exists, those dearest rights of men are left insecure.

Thirdly: the absolute command of congress, over the militia, may be destructive of public liberty: for under the guidance of an arbitrary government, they may be made the unwilling instruments of tyranny. The militia of Pennsylvania may be marched to New England, or Virginia, to quell an insurrection occasioned by the most galling oppression: and, aided by the standing army, they will, no doubt, be successful in subduing their liberty and independency: but in so doing, although the magnanimity of their minds will be extinguished, yet the meaner passions of viciousness and revenge will be increased, and these, in turn, will be the ready and obedient instruments of despotism, to enslave the others: and that with an inhuman vengeance. Thus may the militia be made the instruments of enabling

the laſt efforts of expiring liberty, of riveting the chains of deſpotiſm on their fellow citizens, and on one another. This power can be exerciſed, not only without violating the conſtitution, but in ſtrict conformity with it. It is calculated for this expreſs purpoſe, and will doubtleſs be executed accordingly.

As this government will not enjoy the confidence of the people, but be executed by force, it will be a very expenſive and burdenſome government. The ſtanding army muſt be numerous, and, as a further ſupport, it will be the policy of this government to multiply officers in every department; judges, collectors, taxgatherers, excitemen, and the whole hoſt of revenue officers, will ſwarm over the land, devouring the hard earnings of the induſtrious—like the locuſts of old, impoveriſhing and deſolating all before them.

We have not noticed the ſmaller, nor many of the conſiderable blemiſhes, but have confined our objections to the great and eſſential defects—the main pillars of the conſtitution: which we have ſhewn to be inconſiſtent with the liberty and happineſs of the people, as its eſtabliſhment will annihilate the ſtate governments, and produce one conſolidated government, that will eventually and forcibly iſſue in the ſupremacy of deſpotiſm.

In this inveſtigation, we have not confined our views to the intereſts or welfare of this ſtate, in preference to the others. We have overlooked all local circumſtances—we have conſidered this ſubject on the broad baſis of the general good; we have alſo conſidered the cauſe of the preſent and future ages—the cauſe of liberty and mankind.

Nat. Bowling, *John Ludwig,*
John Smith, *Abraham Lincoln,*
Richard Beard, *John Bishop,*
Adam Orth, *Joſeph Hiſter,*
John A. Hanna, *Joſeph Powel,*
John Whitehill, *James Morris,*
John Harris, *William Findley,*
Robert Whitehill, *John Baird,*
John Reynolds, *James Edgar,*
Jonathan Hoge, *William Todd.*
Nicholas Lutz,

Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1787.

Letter from the hon. Richard Henry Lee, eſq. one of the delegates to congreſs from the ſtate of Virginia, to his excellency Edmund Randolph, eſq. governor of ſaid ſtate.

New York, Oct. 16, 1787.

Dear Sir,

I Was duly honoured with your favour of September 10th, from Philadelphia, which ſhould have been acknowledged long before now, if the nature of the buſineſs that it related to, had not required time.

The eſtabliſhment of the new plan of government, in its preſent form, is a queſtion that involves ſuch immenſe conſequences to the preſent times, and to poſterity, that it calls for the deepeſt attention of the beſt and wiſeſt friends of their country and of mankind.

If it be found good, after mature deliberation, adopt it: if wrong, amend it at all events: for to ſay, as many do, that a bad government muſt be eſtabliſhed, for fear of anarchy, is really ſaying, that we muſt kill ourſelves, for fear of dying.

Experience, and the actual ſtate of things, ſhew, that there is no difficulty in procuring a general convention—the late one being collected without any obſtruction. Nor does external war, or internal diſcord, prevent the moſt cool, collected, full, and fair diſcuſſion of this all-important ſubject. If with infinite eaſe a convention was obtained, to prepare a ſyſtem, why may not another, with equal eaſe, be procured.

to make proper and necessary amendments!

Good government is not the work of a short time, or of sudden thought. From Moses to Montesquieu, the greatest genuises have been employed on this difficult subject: and yet experience has shewn capital defects in the systems produced for the government of mankind. But, since it is neither prudent or easy to make frequent changes in government—and as bad governments have been generally found the most fixed—it becomes of the last consequence, to frame the first establishment upon ground the most unexceptionable, and such as the best theories, with experience, justify—not trusting, as our new constitution does, and as many approve of doing, to time and future events to correct errors, that both reason and experience, in similar cases, point out in the new system.

It has hitherto been supposed a fundamental maxim, that in governments rightly balanced, the different branches of legislature should be unconnected; and that the legislative and executive powers should be separate. In the new constitution, the president and senate have all the executive, and two-thirds of the legislative power. In some weighty influences, (as making all kinds of treaties, which are to be the laws of the land), they have the whole legislative and executive powers. They, jointly, appoint all officers, civil and military: and they (the senate) try all impeachments, either of their own members, or of the officers appointed by themselves.

Is there not a most formidable combination of power thus created in a few? and can the most critic eye, if a candid one, discover responsibility in this potent corps? or will any sensible man say, that great power, without responsibility, can be given to rulers with safety to liberty? It is most clear, that the parade of impeachment is nothing to them, or any of them: as little restraint is to be [illegible] I gesture, from the fear of [illegible] constituents. The president is for four years duration, and Virginia (for example) has one vote of thirteen in the choice of him, and this thirteenth vote not of the people, but electors, two removes from the people. The senate is a body of six years duration, and as in the choice of president, the largest State has but a thirteenth vote, so is it in the choice of senators. This latter statement is adduced to shew that responsibility is as little to be apprehended from amenability to constituents, as from the terror of impeachment. You are, therefore, sir, well warranted in saying, either a monarchy or aristocracy will be generated—perhaps the most grievous system of government may arise.

It cannot be denied with truth, that this new constitution is, in its first principles, highly and dangerously oligarchic: and it is a point agreed, that a government of the few, is, of all governments, the worst.

The only check to be found in favour of the democratic principle, in this system, is the house of representatives; which, I believe, may justly be called a mere fund, or rag of representation: it being obvious to the least examination, that smallness of number, and great comparative disparity of power, render that house of little effect, to promote good, or restrain bad government. But what is the power given to this ill-constructed body?.....To judge of what may be for the general welfare: and such judgments, when made the acts of congress, become the supreme laws of the land. This forms a power co-extensive with every possible object of human [illegible]: yet there is no restraint, [illegible] a bill of rights, to secure (when the

or Blackstone calls) that voluntary resignment of human rights, which is not intended to be given up to society, and which, indeed, is not necessary to be given for any good social purpose. The rights of conscience, the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury, are as many. It is there fixed, that in criminal cases, the trial shall be by jury. But how? In the state. What, then, becomes of the jury of the vicinage, or at least from the county, in the first instance—the state being from fifty to seven hundred miles in extent! This mode of trial, even in criminal cases, may be greatly impaired: and in civil cases, the inference is strong, that it may be altogether omitted: as the constitution positively affirms it in criminal, and is silent about it in civil cases. Nay, it is more strongly discountenanced in civil cases, by giving the supreme courts in appeals, jurisdiction both as to law and fact.

Judge Blackstone, in his learned commentaries, art. jury trial, *says*, "It is the most transcendent privilege, which any subject can enjoy or wish for, that he cannot be affected either in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbours and equals—a constitution, that, I may venture to affirm, has, under providence, secured the just liberties of this nation, for a long succession of ages. The impartial administration of justice, which secures both our persons and our properties, is the great end of civil society. But if that be entirely entrusted to the magistracy, a distinct body of men, and those generally selected by the prince or such as enjoy the highest offices of the state, their decisions in spite of their own natural integrity, will have frequently an involuntary bias towards those of their own rank and dignity. It is not to be expected from human nature, that the few should always be attentive to the good of the many." The learned judge further says, that "every tribunal erected for the exercise of force, is a step towards establishing aristocracy—the most oppressive of all governments."

The answer to these objections is, that the new legislature may provide remedies! But so they may, so they may not; and if they did, a succeeding assembly may repeal the provisions. The evil is found acting upon constitutional bottom; and the remedy upon the mutable ground of legislation, revocable at any annual meeting. It is the more unfortunate that this great security of human rights, the trial by jury, should be weakened in this system, as power is unnecessarily given in the second section of the third article, to call people from their own country in all cases of controversy about property between citizens of different states and foreigners, with citizens of the united states, to be tried in a distant court where the congress may sit. For although inferior congressional courts may, for the above purpose, be instituted in the different states—yet this is a matter altogether in the pleasure of the new legislature, so that if they please not to institute them, or if they do not regulate the right of appeal reasonably, the people will be exposed to endless oppression, and the necessity of submitting, in multitudes of cases, to par unjust demands, rather than follow suitors, through great expence, to far distant tribunals, and to be determined upon there, as it may be, without a jury.

In this congressional legislature, a bare majority of votes can enact commercial laws: so that the representatives of the seven northern states, as they will have a majority, can, by law, create the most oppressive monopoly upon the five southern states, whose circumstances and productions are essentially different from

theirs, although not a single man of their voters are the representatives of, or amenable to the people of the fourteen states. Can such a set of men be, with the least colour of truth, called a representative of those they make laws for? It is supposed that the policy of the northern states will prevent such abuses. But how feeble, sir, is policy when opposed to interest among trading people? and what is the restraint arising from policy? Why, that we may be forced by abuse to become ship-builders! But how long will it be before a people of agriculture can produce ships sufficient to export such bulky commodities as ours, and of such extent? and if we had the ships, from whence are the seamen to come? four thousand of whom at least will be necessary in Virginia. In questions so liable to abuse, why was not the ancillary vote put to two-thirds of the members of the legislature?

With the confession came from the convention, so many members of that body to congress, and of those, too, who were among the most fervent sessions for their system, that the votes of these states being of them, two-thirds divided by them, and many others mixed with them, it is easy to see that congress could have little opinion upon the subject.

Some denied our right to make amendments; whilst others, more moderate, agreed to the right, but denied the expediency of amending: but it was plain, that a majority was ready to find it so, in terms of opposition—my judgment and conscience forbid the last: and therefore I moved the amendments that I have the honour to send you included herewith, and demanded the yeas and nays, that they might appear on the journal.

This seemed to alarm: and to prevent such appearance on the journal, it was agreed to confirm the constitution without a syllable of opposition or disapprobation; so that the term unanimously only applied to the ratification, as you will observe by attending to the terms of the resolution for ratifying. Upon the whole, sir, my opinion is, that as this confederation abounds with useful regulations, at the same time that it is liable to strong and fundamental objections, the plan for us to pursue, will be to propose the necessary amendments, and express our willingness to adopt it with the amendments, and to suggest the calling a new convention for the purpose of considering them. To this I see no well-founded objection; but great safety and much good to be the probable result. I am pretty well satisfied that you make such use of this letter as you shall think to be for the public good; and now, after begging your pardon for so great a trespass on your patience, and professing my last respects to your lady, I will conclude with assuring you, that I am, with the sincerest esteem and regard, dear sir, your most affectionate and obedient humble servant,

RICHARD H. LEE.

Postscript.

IT having been found from universal experience, that the most express declarations and reservations are necessary to prevent the just rights and liberty of mankind from the silent, powerful, and ever-active conspiracy of those who govern; and it appearing to be the wish of the good people of America, by the various bills or declarations of rights whereon the governments of the greater number of states are founded, that such precautions are necessary to restrain and regulate the exercise of the great powers given to rulers: in conformity with their principles, and from respect to the public sentiments on this subject, it is submitted, that the new constitution proposed for the government of

the united states be bottomed upon a declaration or bill of rights, clearly and precisely stating the principles upon which this social compact is founded, to wit:

That the rights of conscience, in matters of religion, ought not to be violated.

That the freedom of the press shall be secured.

That the trial by jury, in criminal and civil cases, and the modes prescribed by the common law, for the safety of life, in criminal prosecutions, shall be held sacred.

That standing armies, in time of peace, are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be permitted, unless allowed so by two-thirds of the members composing each house of the legislature, under the new constitution.

That the elections should be free and frequent.

That the right administration of justice should be secured by the independency of the judges.

That excessive bail, excessive fines, or cruel and unusual punishments, should not be demanded or inflicted.

That the right of the people to abolish peaceably, for the purpose of petitioning the legislature, shall not be prevented.

That the citizens shall not be exposed to unreasonable searches, (or) seizure of their persons, houses, papers, or property.

As it is necessary for the good of society, that the administration of government be conducted with all possible maturity of judgment, for which reason it hath been the practice of civilized nations, and so determined by every state in the union, that a council of state, or privy council should be appointed to advise and assist in the arduous business allotted to the executive powers: therefore, let the new constitution be so amended, as to admit the appointment of a privy council, to consist of seven members, chosen by the president, but responsible for the advice they may give: the which councils, the advice given shall be entered in a council book, and signed by the giver, in all affairs of great moment. And,

That the councillors act under an oath of office.

In order to prevent the dangerous blending of the legislative and executive powers, and to secure responsibility, the privy council, and not the senate, shall be joined with the president in the appointment of all officers, civil and military, under the new constitution.

That the constitution be so altered, as not to admit the creation of a vice-president, whose duties, as assigned, may be discharged by the privy council, except in the instance of presiding in the senate, which may be supplied by a further choice from the body of senators by themselves, as usual, that to save be avoided the establishment of a great officer of state, who is sometimes to be joined with the legislature, and sometimes to administer the government, rendering responsibility difficult, besides giving unjust and unreasonable pre-eminence to that state from whence this officer may have come.

That such parts of the new constitution be amended, as provide imperfectly for the trial of criminals by a jury of the vicinage, and to secure the continuance of a jury trial in civil cases, or disputes about property between individuals, whereby the common law is directed, and as generally it is secured by the several state constitutions.

That such parts of the new constitution be amended, as permit the vexatious and oppressive callings of citizens from their own country, and all controversies between citizens of different states, and between citizens and foreigners to be tried in a far distant court, and as it may be, without a jury, whereby in a multitude

of calm, the circumstances of distance and expence may compel members to submit to the most unjust and ill founded demands.

That in order to secure the rights of the people more effectually, from violation, the power and responsibility of the house of representatives be increased, by increasing the number of delegates to that house, where the popular interest must chiefly depend for protection.

That the constitution be so amended, as to increase the number of concurrents necessary to determine questions in cases where a bare majority may be induced by strong motives of interest to injure and oppress the minority of the community, as in commercial regulations, where advantage may be taken of circumstances, to obtain rigid and permanent laws, that will, in effect, amount to monopolies, to the great impoverishment of those States whose peculiar situation exposes them to such injuries.

Mr. Printer,

YOUR readers may depend that the following speech is genuine. The members of the late federal convention, who heard it delivered, will readily allow it to be so. How it came into my possession, is a question which only Dr. Franklin has a right to examine; and however foolishly I might feel his displeasure for thus publishing it without his consent, I think the *risque* of offending him is overbalanced by the service I may render my country, in disseminating those principles it contains, of modest deference for the opinions of others. How many States and even families have been thrown into confusion, by opinionative obstinacy, which might have long remained united and happy by mutual deference and concession!"

I am, sir, your humble servant,

A. B.

Doctor Franklin's final speech in the late federal convention.

Mr. President,

I Confess that I do not entirely approve of this constitution at present; but, sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it: for having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth, and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steel, a protestant, in a dedication tells the pope, that "the "only difference between our two "churches, in their opinions of the "certainty of their doctrines, is, the "Romish church is infallible, and "the church of England never in "the wrong." But though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility, as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who in a little dispute with her sister, said, I don't know how it happens, sister, but I never meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right. "Il n'y a que moi qui a toujours "raison." In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing, if well administered; and I be-

have further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years; and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted, as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better constitution. For when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, Sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does: and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence, to hear that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babel, and that our states are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting each others throats.

Thus I consent, Sir, to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that this is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors, I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partizans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favour among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion, on the general opinion of the goodness of that government as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors.

I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, we shall all heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well administered.

On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention, who may still have objections to it, would, with me, on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument.

Then the motion was made, for adding the last formula, viz.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent, &c. which was agreed to, and added accordingly.

Observations on the present State of affairs in America.

AMID the apprehensions of the timid, augmented by the predictions of gloomy speculators, and the heedless declamations of party, there have not been wanting some enlightened minds, who have occasionally administered an occasional cup of comfort to the people of America, to encourage them in the support of their present difficulties, and to point out the happiness which is ready in their power.

Little has he studied the theory of man, or observed his familiar life, who has not remarked, that the individual finds the highest gratification in depicting the pleasures of the past, even amid the enjoyments of the present. Prompted thus by temper, men have in every age made complaints

of the bulwark of the times, the loss of their commerce, and the ruin of their country. But their successors should know, that nothing continues in one flow; that there are ebbs and flows in all governments, and a point of depression, beyond which there is no declension—but from which there is a gradual rising, and frequently beyond the extent of former greatness.

That a kind of despondency has gone through the continent, is evident from the public prints of every state; insomuch that a foreigner could hardly believe we were that brave people who so nobly struggled for our independence. The universality of their murmurs, and this despondency, must be ascribed to some cause, which we cannot think altogether friendly to this country: but it is hoped, that their dark clouds may be dispelled, and the people become wiser and better informed—and consequently less subject to the dominion of temporary terrors, and far less to the hurtful imperfections of fancied misery.

That America is comparatively happy, must not—cannot be denied: but that a revolution of the most important nature—a political convulsion, that threatened our very existence as a people, should be severely felt, and bring ruin on thousands, is not to be wondered at. The same difficulties have always happened in similar cases.

As our medium of commerce, during the uncertainties of war, was in a fluctuating state, and our property rising and falling with the news of the day, it cannot be marvellous that multitudes were mistaken in their calculations, and found themselves embarrassed by the failure of schemes which they had planned with the most consummate wisdom. The foundations of government were out of course: the security of life, liberty, and fortune, was shaken: and, amid the bustle and clamour of war, the people did not see or comprehend, what would be the extent of their loss and sufferings: they have perceived, they have felt them since; but shall we therefore despair? Heaven forbid! We are now in possession of this country—a country equal for natural advantages, for liberty, civil and religious, to any other on the face of the globe. To say we are incapable of governing ourselves, is disgraceful in the superlative degree: the idea degrades us to idiotism. But there have been so many specimens of American genius—so many instances of philosophic and enlarged minds, who have appeared among us, that we cannot doubt of our abilities for self-government, one single moment. While we have a Franklin, a Washington, a Morris, the Adamses, a Dickinson, and other able patriots in our service, we cannot despair of the republic.

With respect to the country we have to govern, what do we want!—Have not God and nature done wonderful things for us!—With an abundance of the necessaries of life, have we not materials for manufactures of every kind!—Is not an American farmer as independent a man as any under heaven!—Will not ingenuity, industry, and economy, meet with encouragement!—We know they will; they cannot fail. There is great reason to apprehend, that our querulous, discontent pallions arise more from a desire of foreign luxuries, than from a real want of what can make us truly and rationally happy. We ungratefully overlook the substantial blessings we have in our hands, while we are anxious for such articles, as neither improve our health, nor our morals. The retrospect of one century, in the history of America—its unparalleled progress, important improvements, and revolution—will give us a glimpse of its future greatness:

perhaps it will not be an inſtructive ſpeculation, briefly to conſider what has been the gradual progreſs of a country from a ſtate of nature, to that of civiliſation, wealth, and commerce. That, which we formerly conſidered as the parent ſtate, will give us an example. Who would have ever ſuppoſed, that thoſe Iroquois, as we may call them, ſeparated from the reſt of the world, whom Julius Cæſar diſcovered, and Agricola deigned to conquer, whoſe faces were in ancient times exhibited as ſpectacles of deriſion, and they employed in the moſt ſervile offices—that thoſe *ultimi orbis*, as Horace terms them, ſhould one day become equal, if not ſuperior, to moſt of the nations in Europe, in power, wealth, and ſcience—that thoſe, who formerly were unacquainted with the moſt ſimple branches of huſbandry, and lived entirely upon milk and fleſh, ſhould now become ſo refined, their iſland the Egypt of France, of Spain, and Portugal? Who could have imagined, that a people terrified at the ſight of the Italian veſſels, ſhould, in the iſſue, tranſport to all parts of the world the riches of the Indies, and of their own country, and cover the ocean with their ſhips of war? How gradual has been the increaſe of their trade and navigation from the days of Elizabeth to the preſent period? What will not induſtry and perſeverance achieve? America can boaſt of natural advantages as well as Great Britain. Let us look to our ſituation, extent, ſoil, productions, rivers, and ports. Do we not ſee an immenſe ſource of wealth? Do we not ſee a country bleſſed with the means of maintaining an infinite number of people, ſuperior in this reſpect to any other in the world? Ye citizens of America, be not diſcouraged. Unite, be induſtrious, and you muſt be happy. Reverence yourſelves as the governors of an empire, more extenſive than any in ancient hiſtory. Leave your murmuring, and come forth, like the patriarch Abraham, and contemplate the ſtars of heaven, or the ſands upon the ſea ſhore: *ſo* ſhall be the number of your poſterity. Remember, as rational beings, to adore and worſhip the ſupreme goodneſs; and as citizens, to love one another, and cultivate the uſeful arts of life. Then will divine providence make of you a great and mighty nation, and a bleſſing to all the families upon earth!

Obſervations and remarks on the putrid malignant fever threat. Written in New Hampſhire, anno 1786.

AT a time when a moſt peſtilential and contagious diſeaſe is making its progreſs through a country, marking its way with the moſt calamitous circumſtances, any attempt to inveſtigate the real nature of the *diſorder*, to mitigate its violence, and, if poſſible, to prevent its deſtructive effects, is not only in itſelf laudable, but a duty highly incumbent on thoſe who have the lives of their neareſt connections, friends, and neighbours committed to their care. This conſideration, alone, has produced the following remarks. They were thrown together, at a late hour, after the fatigues of a buſy day, as well for the author's own ſatisfaction, as the purpoſe of adopting ſome conciſe and regular method of treating a diſeaſe that is ſo rapidly ſpreading, and in all probability will become general, amongſt us. They were ſhewn to ſome medical friends, at whoſe preſſing ſolicitations they are now, with the utmoſt diffidence, ſubmitted to public inſpection.

The author is not unaware that he has laid himſelf open to criticiſm and cenſure; but he will as patiently bear the one, as he regardleſs of the

ration, should be disinclined those of superior abilities, and more extensive medical knowledge, to improve on those imperfect hints, and favour the public with their opinions, that from the united endeavours of all, some effectual method may be obtained to mitigate the violence of so distressing a disease.

The present putrid malignant sore throat, so far as we are able to learn, first made its appearance in Sanford, Cowhall, and several other new settled towns in the upper part of the county of York, and commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the fall of the year 1784, since which it has been slowly spreading, though more rapidly in the back towns than towards the sea coast.

The three last years have not been marked with any remarkable circumstances as to the weather, or state of the air; the two last winters were not uncommonly severe, and the summers have been remarkably temperate; nor has any great degree of dry or moist weather prevailed: a foggy day or night has scarcely been known in any part of the seasons, and more general health never prevailed through the country, excepting in the summer 1784; when puerperal fevers were remarkably common through the country in general, and proved fatal to a great number of women.

Whatever, then, may be the remote or precipitating cause of the present disease, must remain one of those mysteries that baffle human researches. Blindly to puzzle for precarious causes, in observations so futile and absurd, as prescriptions, founded on prejudice and conjecture, are unjustifiable.

The author has had an opportunity of seeing a considerable number under the present disease; he has most attentively marked the symptoms, compared them with the disorders that he thought similar, as described by a number of authors; he has taken the opinion of those aged, and formerly eminent, practitioners, and, on the whole, he is perswaded that the present contagious distemper, is a disease, sui generis; it differs from that destructive disorder that formerly prevailed in this country, known by the name of the throat distemper. This was a dreadful disease indeed! much more mortal than the present one, often destroying in a few hours after the attack, while the innocent victim was diverting itself with toys, and its fond parents unsuspicious of danger. Many were suddenly carried off, when no marks of the disease appeared, more than a superficial pustle or small inflamed ulcer, on a finger or toe. He has not seen or heard of any like effects in the present disease; however, it may not be improbable that the former malignant disease may alternate with the present one, as they are both disorders of a highly putrid nature: the disposing cause in the air, and constitutional dispositions in the habit, may produce them both in the same season; yet out of a very considerable number he has seen, no more than one or two have appeared to have had the real throat distemper. Nor is the present disorder that which often prevails, and is commonly called the scarlet fever. This is most evident, from numbers that are now under the present disease, who heretofore have had the scarlet fever, a disorder that has not been known to attack the same person a second time; besides, an efflorescence always appears in the scarlet fever. Indeed, it is a characteristic of the disease; but, in the present disorder, one third, at least, are free from every appearance of eruption.

The ulcerous sore throat of doctor Huxham, the cynanche maligna of doctor Cullen, are, in many cases, a good description of the present disease—but the putrid sore throat of Dr

Books, more accurate; the fanciful engravings, of doctor Withering, he has not seen. The present putrid sore throat is contagious, more so with children; frequently with those from twenty to thirty years of age; and those of more advanced life do not always escape. It is a disease of a highly putrid nature; this is most evident from the appearance of the sloughs and ulcers in the throat—the offensive putrid smell of the breath so soon after the patient begins to complain—the petechial spots which in many cases are dispersed over different parts of the body. The attack is often sudden, and the symptoms increase very rapidly; persons have been perfectly well at noon, yet in the evening in the most disagreeable circumstances; a most violent fever, pain, and stiffness in the neck; the uvula and tonsils so swelled as almost to close up the throat. In others, the symptoms advance more slowly, beginning with slight rigours, and sickness; but in all, sooner or later, there is great increased heat, restlessness, difficulty of breathing, with an exceeding full and quick pulse: and very soon the uvula and tonsils, and in some, the whole inside of the throat, will be covered with white, or ash-coloured spots. These enlarge, and become thick sloughs, the tongue exceedingly foul at the base, and in young subjects, a remarkable drowsiness. All these symptoms increase, and are greatly aggravated towards the evening: on the second or third day an efflorescence of a deep erysipelatous colour appears, more especially on the face, neck, breast, and hands, all which appear to be a little swelled, the fingers more evidently so, and in many ringed in a remarkable manner. If these parts be accurately viewed, an infinite number of small pimples, of an intense scarlet colour, will be perceived: but here, different from other eruptive diseases, the patient gains no relief, nor are the symptoms the least evacuated, by this large defloration on the skin: on the contrary, the pain, heat, and misery increase; at night, delirium frequently comes on, which generally goes off in the morning, with an abatement of the other symptoms, but returns again with equal violence towards the evening.

The tongue and mouth become more foul; the sloughs in the throat increase to an almost to prevent breathing. These are frequently thrown off in large flakes, and leave deep, painful, and sometimes bleeding ulcers, behind them. From the inside of the nostrils, especially in children, is discharged large quantities of a thin putrid matter, of a most corrosive nature, excoriating whatever it touches. In infants this virulent matter often pulls down the œsophagus into the stomach and intestines, bringing on sickness, vomiting, and violent purgings. The fine membrane that lines the larynx, is corroded off; the epiglottis loses its action, by which every thing the child endeavours to swallow, pulls the wrong way, as the common phrase is, *downwards*, and flies back through the nose; a hoarseness and hooping (which, by the by, is generally a fatal symptom, however mild and favourable other appearances may be) comes on, suffocation; and death suddenly takes place. About the 5th day, (sometimes sooner, and sometimes a day later,) all the symptoms become more and more aggravated; the heat, restlessness, difficulty of breathing, and delirium exultant;—the pulse small, but exceedingly quick; the sloughs in the throat thicken, and change to a dark livid colour; the fœtor from the breath insufferable; the efflorescence on the skin disappears, or becomes of a dark crimson colour, with petechial spots dispersed about on the legs, thighs, and sometimes other

parts of the body; the difficulty of breathing increases; the patient falls into a stupor, and death suddenly closes the scene.

Those who have the disease more favourable, generally have an abatement of all the symptoms on the 4th day; the efflorescence (on those who have it, for, as was before observed, one third of the patients have no appearance of eruption) disappears, the coughs in the throat separate and come off, and leave ulcers that readily heal;—in some a hardness and contraction of the parotid glands remain, in others a dry hoarse cough: These however soon give way to proper remedies.

From a consideration of the foregoing symptoms, we are led to conclude, that the present disorder is a disease of a highly putrid nature, and that the indications of cure are to be sought for, only, in such remedies as may obviate the tendency to putrefaction, expel the septic ferment in the habit, and support the system. How irrational, then, must be the practice of those who urge the cooling regimen, antiphlogistic remedies, antimonials, mercurial purges, and other evacuants! By their's debility is induced; the vital energy impaired, and the growing putrefaction greatly encouraged. Hence the great mortality, which has attended this disease in many parts of the country, here, in some measure, owing to the too frequent use of their remedies? Practitioners have been led into a use of these remedies, partly from the violence of the inflammatory symptoms, and partly from a supposition of corrupted humours being retained in the blood, which required correcting: but the humoral pathology seems to be fully exploded; and doctors Cullen, Dickinson, and other modern writers have fully proved, that these symptoms depend on the state of debility, and that stimulating remedies alone are the cure. Dickinson remarks, that the florid appearance of the fauces in the cynanche maligna (the disease under consideration) affords a striking example of this inflammation, where it is universally known that the practice is to support the patient, so rapidly sinking under this dangerous complaint: and he has no doubt but the delirium in fevers is a symptom of debility, and only to be removed by stimulants: and his opinion is confirmed by Cullen, Gregory, Duncan, Lind, and many other eminent writers. He further observes, that other evacuants, as well as the more debilitating use of blood letting, have likewise been attended with the worst effects. Doctor Lind informs us, that large doses of antimonials, or even smaller ones, too frequently repeated, have sometimes brought on evacuations which have entirely sunk the patient, and doctor Daniel Munro, whose extensive practice no doubt led him to the observation, informs us, that James's powder has frequently done considerable hurt: for he has known instances, where it has been administered to putrid ulcerated sore throats, and in low fevers, and occasioned such a purging as to hasten the patients to their graves.

The tonic, as well as antiseptic powers of the bark, must render it a medicine not only proper, but highly necessary in this disorder.

The virtues of the bark, when taken in substance, in full doses, in putrid disorders, stand unrivalled by all other remedies. But there are many cases, where it appears highly necessary, yet cannot be got down, or the stomach will not retain it: and the disease, now under consideration, affords many instances of this. To obviate this difficulty, we have now a method of conveying into the habit, a sufficient quantity of this noble medicine, in cases of a putrid nature, recommend-

ed by doctor Alexander. The salutary effects of this medicine, when used in this way, have been abundantly experienced by practitioners here, in low fevers, and other diseases of a putrid kind. Doctor Percival informs us, that it has been found, that the hand, after being well chafed, will imbibe, in an hour, near an ounce and a half of warm water; and allowing that the surface of the hand is to the whole body, as one to forty, the absorption of the whole, in the same space of time, would amount to upwards of forty pounds.

The fact, related some time since, in the newspapers, of a British officer, who was wrecked on a desolate island in the West Indies, where no fresh water was to be obtained; that his thirst was fully satisfied, preserved, we observed, in that unwholesome climate, by frequently wetting his shirt in the sea, and putting it on, under his other clothes; that he continued in this situation for a long time before relieved, and that the only inconvenience he found, was a fret on the skin, from the incrustation of the salt, where the aqueous particles were absorbed. And the curious fact, related by doctor Chalmers, of a negro man, gibbeted in Charlestown, South Carolina, in March, 1770, who had no sustenance but little, for some time before he was put up; yet he regularly vomited, every morning, a large quantity of urine, imbibed by the body from the dews of the evening, and besides this a sufficient quantity to support perspiration by day: and he adds, had daily fresh hors of a nutritious quality, he might have been kept alive for a considerable length of time.

From these facts, it cannot be doubted that warm water, fully impregnated with the bark, and other antiseptics, may be conveyed into the body, in very considerable quantities, by the shrinking vessels, and that not with a very good purpose, in all cases, where the bark is required. In disorders, where great putridity prevails, Virginia snake-root, and camomile flowers, may be added to the preparation, with a very good intention.

Out of a considerable number who have been visited with this disease in Portsmouth and the neighbouring towns, it has proved fatal in two instances; excepting a boy nine years old, at Kittery, all were infants who have died. They suffered from a dissolution of the putrid matter on the lungs.

On the 10th day of August last, the author had an opportunity of seeing mr. J——s H——ll, of Sandwich, a man naturally of a good constitution, and about 25 years of age. The disease had been some time in the family. It was the eighth day of his illness, and he then appeared to be just expiring. The circulations had so far ceased that no pulse could be perceived. His countenance was sunk—a cold clammy sweat pervaded the whole body, and he was universally putrid. Early in his sickness a blister had been drawn on one of his arms—The whole limb was touched to a horrifying degree, and that part where the blister had been laid, had become a dead sphacelus. Yet notwithstanding, he continued twenty four hours after their alarming appearances. What expectations could be had, in any measure, equal to the discovering Gentle current of the bark, early pushed to the utmost extent?

This instance is mentioned to shew the very great tendency to putrefaction in this disease.

The author conceives, that he cannot do better, in this place, than transcribe a passage from the late celebrated doctor Fothergill, which

name and works will be revered as long as gratitude and the love of mankind shall continue in the world.

"The use of the bark, in the cure of this disease (putrid sore throat) was unknown to the early practitioners. It is but of late that this celebrated medicine has been used with freedom in this, as well as in other putrid diseases, and with great advantage.

"The difficulty of prevailing upon children, afflicted with this distemper, to take any kind of medicine, put me early on trying the bark in clysters, and sometimes where these seemed very little chance of relieving them by any means. To very young children, two or three drachms of the bark, in fine powder, have been given every six hours, in three or four ounces of broth, as a clyster, adding a small quantity of the *tinct. e floribus* to the second or third, if the first was discharged too speedily: and this has saved many, when not a drop of any medicine, and scarcely any kind of nourishment, could be swallowed.

"Adults may take half a drachm of the powder in an ounce and an half of the decoction, warmed with any grateful compound water, every two or three hours; taking particular care to prevent any considerable tendency to a diarrhœa, from the use of the medicine. Free, but not cold air, plenty of liquid nutriment, and generous, with cordial attention to keep the patients clean, their mouths and throats often washed, and their linen often changed, contribute greatly to the cure of this disease. While their skin is covered with that deep efflorescence, if they are at all feeble, they often complain of the least admission of cold air, and very frequently of much sickness and oppression, if the efflorescence disappears.

"To favour the eruption, it will always be proper to put those who are seized with this distemper to bed as early after the seizure as possible, and to give the mild and cordial diaphoretics. And, as a preservative, I have often recommended the bark to be given both in decoction and substance, with the addition of such a quantity of the volatile tincture of guaiacum as may render it gently purgative."

The author will now take the liberty of communicating the method that has been generally pursued by the practitioners in this place, and which, at present, he believes they find occasion essentially to alter.

In many cases, the disorder is so mild as to require little more than keeping warm, at bed-time taking a draught of cyder or wine whey, a little sage being previously boiled in the milk; the mouth and throat may be washed with barley water, sage leaves, and sage tea, with a little vinegar, and as much honey as will leave it agreeably acid.

In cases where the attack is more severe, beginning with sickness and vomiting, it has been thought advisable to encourage it by a few grains of ipecac. or camomile flowers tea. If, after the operation of the medicine, the symptoms do not abate, the following julep will, for the most part, effectually refresh the stomach.

R. pul. alkali vol. succin. gr. xv. aq. limon. cin. j. ol. menth. pip. gut. iij. vel. iiss. menth. pip. gut. xv. sacch. alb. gut. vi. aq. font. cin. vj. M. F. julep.

If the oil of peppermint is used instead of the others, it should be previously rubbed with a little sugar, and the water added by degrees. A spoonful of this julep, more or less, according to the age and circumstances of the patient, is directed to be taken every hour, until the stomach is quieted. In cases where there is no sickness, or disposition to puking, an emetic has seldom been

prohibited; but rather have directed them to take a spoonful of Mindererus' spirit, taking care the acid should predominate, rather than the salt in the preparation of the medicine; and this medicine is continued every four or six hours, as occasion may require, through the disease.

But where the symptoms are more urgent, the tendency to putrefaction great, the coughs large and thick, and the breath offensive, recourse must be had to more efficacious remedies. Six ounces of bark, four ounces of camomile flowers, and two ounces of Virginia snake root, are directed to be boiled, or rather infused, for four hours, in ten quarts of water, in a close vessel, and the patient to bath his feet and legs in this infusion, made a little more than lukewarm, one hour, at least, morning and evening, and oftener, if the symptoms are alarming. A decoction of bark, snake root, and camomile flowers, is likewise to be taken once in four or six hours, and the bark freely as sublimate, if it can be got down. And here it may be observed, that not an instance has been seen, even where a most phlogistic diathesis appeared to prevail, that the symptoms were the least exasperated from this treatment of the disorder; but on the contrary, the heat and nitidefeth have abated, a gentle diaphoresis taken place, which is far from being natural in this disease—the skin, in general, being remarkably dry.

In colds, where a delirium comes on in the evening, and the patient has been any time sullen, a milk clyster is directed, taking care, if more than one or two stools are procured, (which will sometimes be the case), to refrain the bowels with a proper dose of the *sal. c. opio*, or *pulvis stom.*

In the evening, when the affection has been very great, and the patient uncommonly restless, it has been found necessary to give some gentle sedative draughts.

With regard to the throat, they are directed to receive the steam of boiling vinegar, water, and sweet, into the mouth, through an inverted funnel, or the neck of a coffee-pot; and, where a gargarism can be used, the following one has been found very efficacious, in bringing off the coughs, and detersing the ulcers.

R. Aq. fontan. vel com. ℔ ij. mucil. acac. ℥ ss. tinct. myrrh. ℥ j. spir. sal. ammon. q. s. M. F. garg.

How the quantity of spirit of salt is not mentioned, as this must be regulated by the throat: if the coughs have ripened, and come off, very little can be endured; otherwise, from ten to twenty drops may be found sufficient. The patient must be extremely careful to avoid swallowing any of this gargarism: the myrrh, as well as spirit of salt, are powerful antiseptics.

It is with great difficulty that children can be brought to manage either the steam or gargarisms properly, and with infants impossible. Great attention, however, should be paid to the cleansing the nose, mouth, and throat by washings, injections, and every method that can be devised.

It frequently happens, that the parotid glands are much swelled, painful, and hard: in such cases, the following volatile liniment has been used with advantage.

R. Camphor. drachm. ij. ol. amygd. ℥ vel olivar. ℥ ij. spir. sal. ammon. drachm. ij. M.ft.

A small quantity of this may be rubbed into the part, afterwards a fermenting cataplasm of milk, bran grounds, or yeast, with camomile, may be applied.

As to bathes, a promiscuous use of them is far from being thought advisable. In some inured cases, they may be serviceable; yet the inflammation, painful coughs, deep

ulcerations, and even mortifications that have taken place, seemed to be more than a counterbalance for all their good effects: but it is impossible to overcome the prejudices of some, and we often find blisters applied without confulting the physician; in such cases, and when any of the above disagreeable appearances take place, the before-mentioned cataplasm, with the addition of some onions sliced small and previously boiled in the milk, will be found one of the easiest and best applications.

The author, in September, 1785, attended the wife of mr. B—j—n B—g—n, of York. She had the disorder severely indeed; the whole of the uvula were mortified; a blister had been drawn on the arm and leg. Their limbs were swelled to an astonishing degree. No description can give an idea of the pain she suffered in them. The parts where the blisters had been laid, were also mortified; yet, with a constant use of the petitioes with bark, camomile flowers, and snake-root, the red bark taken freely in substance, and the frequent use of the gargarism before mentioned, she recovered. There was so great a loss of substance in the throat, that she could scarcely utter a word intelligibly; and, for many months, whenever she attempted to swallow, returned as freely by the nose. The mortified blisters separated and came out, leaving the bones nearly bare, and it was some months before they were fully incarned and healed; and nature has, in a surprising and unexpected manner, overcome the difficulty in her throat.

In cases, where blisters are thought necessary, it has been thought better to apply them to the neck, than on the limbs.

In some cases, the putrid fumes from the mouth, is not only intolerably offensive to the attendants, but to the patients themselves. The hand is entirely freed from the offensiveness of chalk, and sharp vinegar, mixed in pretty large quantities in a bowl, and placed near the patient's mouth, will be found very advantageous.

Faintness is frequently a symptom in this disorder. Genuine Madeira wine will be found the best antiseptic cordial that can be taken.

If, after the disorder is gone off, a swelling and hardness of the parotid glands remain, keeping the part warm, frictions with soft flannel, and, in obstinate cases, a small quantity of mercurial ointment rubbed into the part, and a dose or two of calomel, with rhubarb, will remove the complaint.

It has happened with some patients, especially those more advanced in life, that, on the decline of this disorder, they have been attacked with violent pains of the limbs, not unlike those of the rheumatism; and in some few instances, they have so far lost the use of them, as to be unable to stand on their feet, or to make use of their hands. In these cases, the volatile tincture of gum guaiacum, the shavings of the guaiacum, or the saw-dust of the lignum vitæ, which is more readily obtained, has speedily put an end to these complaints.

The cough, and unpleasant swelling of limbs, which sometimes remain after the disease, are best removed by a continuance of the bark.

It may be objected by some, that few remedies are proposed. It was not the author's intention to prescribe for every symptom that might arise in this disorder; his endeavour was to point out the real nature and tendency of a disease that has become so general, under so many names and titles; as also to adopt some rational method of cure, instead of the mountebank remedies constantly recommended. Indeed, in all cases, more especially in one where so little can be followed, a few well

ghoden and powerful remedies, are to be preferred to a farrago of indigested stuff that can serve only to scale the patient and obstinately determine him against every remedy however important and necessary.

The author is sufficiently foolish he has torpedoed too much on the public's patience in taking up so much room with a subject altogether professional; he will therefore conclude with the translation of a sentence often pertined as a motto to performances of this kind. If any one know any thing better, let him candidly impart it; if not, use this with me.

HUMANUS.

Observations on the bite of a mad dog. Addressed to the president and members of the medical society in the county of Newhaven.

Gentlemen,

THE saliva of a mad dog, when mixed with the reddest blood, is known to prove a slow, but a deleterious poison, and unless relieved by art, brings on a train of grievous symptoms, which terminate in death.

The inhabitants of *these northern states* have not been *exposed* to the bite of *mad dogs*, until within the compass of a few years; and for that reason I conclude physicians have not paid proper attention to search after a rational and radical cure.

If you judge the following history worthy to be communicated to the public, you have my liberty to do it in that way, and by those methods, you may think will render it most useful to those who may have the misfortune to be bit by a mad dog. The truth of the facts may be relied upon, and well known in this vicinity.

A mad dog, on the fourth of October, 1786, came from the north part of this town, about fifteen miles from the sea. In his course down, he pulled through the east part of the town of Guilford, and again returned and pulled through this town, on the post road, as far as the west parish of Saybrook, where he was purfued, overtaken, and killed. He attacked, and bit a child, in East Guilford, in the vicinity of the rock; the wound much lacerated. In this town, he bit a girl about eight or ten years of age, through her clothes in her hip; one tooth perforated the skin, and drew blood. In his whole course, of cattle, hogs, dogs, with the children, he wounded the same day to the number of fifteen or fifteen, all the dogs bitten, were killed soon after, except one, which was permitted to run at large until it manifestly shewed symptoms of madness, and was then killed; all the other animals bitten, ran mad, and died, except one sow, which suckled a number of pigs six or eight weeks old. She was bit on the tip end of one ear, which was perforated by one tooth only. Neither the sow nor any of her pigs, were, in any perceptible manner, affected, which, I conceive, was owing to the poison that had pulled into the blood, being immediately drawn off by the lacteals, and disseminated among the whole litter of her pigs, before it had contaminated the mass of blood; thus it might not affect either sow or pigs, as it is well known, the most deleterious poison may be taken in so small a dose, as not to injure the animal machine.

I had certain advice, the same day the child was bit *in* East Guilford, by one who both saw the dog, and the child, soon after it was bit, and again saw the dog as he was pulling through this town, and believed he was mad, which was the occasion of his being purfued and killed. Never expecting to have such a call, I had given but little thought on the sub-

just; but had taken so much notice of practical writers on the subject, in the course of my reading, as to think their prescriptions trifling and insignificant. Being anxious for the safety of the children intrusted to my care, recollecting I had an abridgement of all the medical cases, that had been read before the royal society, and finding one among others, which I looked upon rational, and which had been successful, as late as the year 1731, which was put into practice by mr. Floyer in consequence of the recommendation of dr. Robert James, who never had made a trial of the medicine himself, which was turpeth min: several times repeated. The trial was made first on dogs that were mad; giving for the first dose twelve, the second twenty-four, the third forty-eight grains, and the method succeeded: was afterwards tried on three of the human kind, and succeeded in all three.

Concluding the child bitten, would fall under the care of doctor Todd, a young gentleman who had studied under my care, I immediately wrote him my advice as follows, founded on that intimation given in the philosophical transactions, No. 441, p. 144, which see. I advised him to cleanse the wound with equal parts of S. nit, and S. marin. finely pulverized—to scarify the wound as much as the part would admit, if necessary, and to fill the wound with it, and likewise to incorporate it with the digestive. Common salt I had experienced of great efficacy in wounds from the bite of dogs not mad, and the addition of S. nit: I took as a hint from the worthy president of your society; and then to give an emet. of turpeth mine: proportioned to the age of the child, so as to puke it three or four times, and to purge it five or six times, at the distance of 4, 5, or 6 days, taking in the intermediate days, a portion of calomel in thetica anodyne, sufficient to purge it two or three times the next day—this calomel to be taken at night, going to bed, and a draught of cankar wood, boiled in milk and water every night. By a cankar wood I mean an herb brought into our assembly, by a member from some part, famous for its efficacy in the malignant species of the epha, accompanied with the putrid fever, in order to spread its utility throughout the government.

Mr. B. Bartram, the famous botanist of Philadelphia, once shewed me the true plant, and told me it was sovereign to the bite of the rattle-snake, and termed it quinquefolium, a name, however, I never could find in any botanic writer. By this method carefully attended, the child got well, and remains so to the present time.

I am, gentlemen,
your most obedient servant,
B. GALE.

Account of a worm bred in the liver. Communicated to dr. John Clephane, by dr. Thomas Bond.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1754.

Dear sir,

SINCE my last, the following remarkable case has fallen under my observation. Mrs. Hall, a widow lady in this city, was, about eighteen months before her death, affected with a pain in the right side, which, in the beginning, was like the stinging of a bee, or the pricking of a pin. This pain daily increased, and gradually extended until it occupied a great part of the right hypochondriac region. It was felt in the day only: but, after some months, was felt alternately in the side and back day. Through the whole course of this, the bad intervals of pain towards the latter end of [illegible] were but short; and the pain [illegible]

increased, that she compared it to a ball dog gnawing her liver.

After nine or ten months, she thought there was something alive in her side, for, to ease her own expression, she said she plainly perceived a tickling, and quirking in it. She rarely felt much uneasiness when in motion, particularly when on horseback; but was most disturbed, when lying in bed. She accidentally discovered, that a quick smart blow, struck with an open hand, on the affected place, gave immediate relief, and therefore often called her father to do it. If the pain was in the side, when relieved by the blow, it was usually felt next in the shoulder; and vice versâ, if in the shoulder. The same remarkable thing arose from the application of a blistial poultice to the side, for the space of two weeks, during which time the pain was altogether in the shoulder; but again returned to the side, soon after that medicine was removed.

In the place where the disorder began, which was about five inches from the spine, the ribs were gradually disturned, so as at length to form a considerable gibbosity; the tegoments surrounding this part grew fore, the right side became oedematous, and a quantity of fluid matter could plainly be felt under the intercostal muscles.

A month before the patient's decease, the line of the pain changed; it went in a direct line from the right to the left side; its motion was regular and slow, so that she did from time to time point out its progress. It was four days in passing over; afterwards lived in the stomach; and was never more felt in the side, where the forepart of the tegumens likewise soon shrunk.

The stomach had hitherto received, retained, and digested the food tolerably well; but was now affected [illegible] heaving and nausea now and then relieved for a short time by strong opiates, or large draughts of spirituous liquors. There was likewise the same sensation of sickling and quirking in it, that had been before perceived in the side. She had a slight cough from the beginning of the illness: but after the pain came into the stomach, this cough was violent, and she expectorated large quantities of a [illegible] frothy phlegm. These symptoms all vanished suddenly: and in twenty-four hours after, she voided by stool, the fore part of an annular worm, nine inches long, and an inch in diameter; and in six hours more, the tail and other parts of the body, amounting in the whole to twenty inches in length. It was of a red colour, and filled with blood, in the manner of a leech.

After the worm left the stomach, &c. Hale complained that the stomach had fallen down, and seemed very empty, and she entirely lost the power of deglutition; so that she did not survive above forty-eight hours. Whilst the pain continued in the side, she had a considerable degree of flesh and strength remaining, but languished fast after it came into the stomach.

This unhappy gentlewoman [illegible] for many months before her death so fully convinced of there being something extraordinary in her case, that she insisted on having her body opened, and the nature of her disease carefully enquired into: which was accordingly done by doctors Kimberly, senior, Skippen, Phineas Bond, and myself, in the presence of many of her friends. We found the liver enlarged, and forced over to the left side, the substance of it harder than common, and in some parts actually schirrous; the gall bladder distended with thick black bile, to the size of a goose egg, the duct pervious, and its orifice in a natural state, the liver adhering to the peritonæum. In the external part of the liver under the distortion of the ribs was a large

cavity, containing near two quarts, filled with bloody water, and a few lumps of coagulated blood. The surface of the liver within it, appeared jagged and uneven, as if it had been gnawed: on the side of this cavity, was a chamber, two inches in diameter, and in the bottom of it a passage leading into the hepatic duct; the mouth of this passage was partly up, and appeared to have been considerably large. On laying open the duodenum, we found the perforation of the biliary ducts into it so distant, as readily to admit the end of a common tallow candle: there was not here or in the neighbouring parts the least tinge of bile, nor did it flow easily by pressure on the gall-bladder, though we could not discover any thing in the passage to obstruct it.

From the above symptoms, and the appearances of the parts on dissection, there seems little room to doubt, that from the time of mrs. Holt's complaining of the pain in the right side, until it ceased to the left, this horned animal had its seat in the cavity we found in the liver; that afterwards it worked it's way from thence into the stomach, and there continued till 24 hours before it was voided; and I think we may reasonably conjecture, that, when very small, it was taken into the stomach, and passing into the pylorus, entered the biliary ducts, and perfected one of the branches of them as far as it could go, then formed its bed, and was nourished by sucking the blood, until the morbid state of the juices, or the caustic applications used externally to her side, made its situation improper; after which it returned through the same passages that had given it admittance.

From the distention of the bile in the gall-bladder, and from the contraction of the passage leading from the cystis of the bile into the liver, whilst that in the duodenum continued to much enlarged, it is probable the whole of the body of the animal did not pass into the intestine till after, or at least a short time before its death, which was the cause of the waters remaining in the cavity, and of its body being broken into pieces. The fore part of this worm was thrown away, before I had an opportunity of seeing it; but from the description her sister and the nurse gave of it, and the resemblance the remainder bears to that delivered by mr. Pooley, in the * Edinburgh medical essays, they appear to be exactly of the same kind; I have therefore sent you the tail to supply the defect of his figure.

The accounts of these two animals, and some other cases I have before met with, persuade me that the disorders of the liver, arise more frequently from worms than has been generally suspected; and that the seat of them is commonly on the convex part of it, is probable from what has been observed, that old dogs in America, whose juices have been corrupted by frequent bites of rattle snakes, have large worms in their livers; which are always situated in the same part, where I found that of mrs. Holt. I have seen some of these three feet and an inch long, and near two inches in circumference. The common people believe them to be real snakes, governed by the bite; which unphilosophical notion we may excuse in them, since the learned Bartholin, Dionis, &c. have imputed the madness and venom of wolves to serpents (of the same kind probably) which they have found in their livers.

This case of mrs. Holt, shews that the affections of all parts of the liver are not equally productive of a pain in the shoulder per con-

sent.

* *Vide Edinburgh medical ess.* p. 382, vol. 2.

fenders; likewife the conduct there is betwixt the ftomach and lungs. This is, perhaps, one of the moft ufeful parts of medical knowledge. If this animal had luckily gone down the inteftinal canal, inftead of the courfe it took, perhaps the patient might have recovered.

I think this worm may juftly be called an hepatic brach. If my memory does not deceive me, worms of a conſiderable bar have been found in moſt parts of the human body, and the latter ſpecies ufually in the ſame places: yet many of them remain, till it is broken, made purulent. I think this muſt be for want of accuracy in obſervation. An inſect of the ſame kind, and in the ſame ſituation, muſt produce a ſimilarity of effects and ſymptoms, which might be known to the advantage of the patient, and reputation of the phyſician. The ſingularity of this caſe gave me great perplexity: it was firſt conſidered as an obſtruction of the liver, and doubtleſs properly deſcribed; the gentler ſcaling, recourſe was had to a pyaliſm raiſed by the *aqua regia* ſcrupulouſly rubbed over the part, mercurial plaiſters, and ſmall doſes of calomel by the mouth. Towards the end of this courſe, the worm was ſcarcely felt for ſome weeks. When we perceived matter under the mercurial medicine, we adviſed laying the part open, but the patient would not liſten to it.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BOND.

Letter from mr. Hill's father, to Benjamin Franklin, eſquire, defcribing the ſame caſe.

Pleaſant-grove, April 12, 1744.

Sir,

I will give you as exact a deſcription of my ſiſter's caſe as I can. Firſt ſhe complained of a ſtrong fever, and then of a ſtitch in her ſide, which ſhe would compare to the prick of a pin; and would ſtop her ſide with her hand, which never failed to give her relief for ſome time. She then began to complain of a pain in her ſhoulder, and that would be more violent, and laſt longer; the pains increaſing and being more frequent, ſhe would ſay it was juſt like the ſting of a bee. Afterwards ſhe began to complain of a pain under her ſhoulder, juſt below the ſhoulder blade. She ſaid it had forced itſelf into three points: it was always worſt in the night. This was her caſe for about ten months: her pains then began to be violent, and ſhe would ſcream out, and would beg me to pound her back, or ſhoulder, which I did for ten or fifteen minutes at a time, and ſtopped her ſide. I then ſpoke to dr. T. Bond. He adviſed her to ride; but ſhe was at that time ſo ill, that ſhe could neither ſit up nor lie down half an hour together, and ſaid it was impoſſible for her to ſit on horſeback, and that it would kill her: the doctor inſiſted upon it; and ſhe to pleaſe us (as ſhe ſaid) would try. She had hardly gone out of town, before ſhe found a great alleviation for the better; and before ſhe reached Frankford, was perfectly eaſy. She went to Trenton that day; to Princeton the next; and continued riding three weeks every day; came home, as ſhe thought, in perfect health, and continued ſo for two weeks. She was then taken with a violent pain in her ſide. Doctor Bond ordered her to be let blood, which was done immediately, but to no purpoſe. She was then bled, but all in vain, her pains ſtill increaſing. She was then put under a courſe of phyſic, but ſtill to no purpoſe. It

would be too tedious to relate all the medicines that were applied.

She next complained of a quirling pain, that would laft three or four hours with the utmoft violence; and nothing would relieve her but ftrong anodynes; and, when their force was over, fhe would be waked with a violent pain under her fhoulder, which fhe could compare to nothing but a great ball dully tearing her liver. She would lie, to all appearance, in the agonies of death, five or fix hours, without the leaft intermiffion, until fhe took another anodyne.

She then began to fwell; firft her feet, then her legs, and at length her whole body, except her hands and arms; but there was one fpot under her fhoulder, that might be covered with a hand, more puffed than any other part, and extremely fore: her ftrength was very great from head to foot; but fhe faid it pointed at that fpot. We ufed divers poultices; one of which was made of rye meal, honey, and Caftile foap, and it had not been on half an hour, before the pain left that fpot, and fhe faid it was the beft poultice fhe ever had. She lay tolerably eafy for about half an hour, and then began to fcream out with a violent drawing pain at the bottom of the fmall ribs; and faid the pains were drawing over to the left fide. She faid it was a drawing pain at the fmall ribs, and a tickling pain at her back; at the fame time, all who faw her, judged her to be in the agonies of death. The doctor, at my requeft, gave her an anodyne, which relieved her for a few hours. It was about four o'clock when fhe took this anodyne: at eleven fhe took another, and at eight next morning fhe took a third. She continued in this agony for three days, when all at once fhe fcreamed out, and faid the quirling pain was got into her ftomach—called for all her friends, and took leave of them in a moft affectionate manner. She herfelf, and all prefent, expected her laft moment was at hand. The agonies fhe was in, cannot be expreffed. From that time nothing would ftay on her ftomach, except ftrong brandy, or Geneva punch; and nothing would give any tolerable eafe except ftrong anodynes. She has taken two and three hundred drops in a day, which had no other effect, but to enable her to converfe with her friends. For about three weeks fhe continued in this conftant agony, and then felt a fudden change; and calling to her nurfe, aiked if fhe did not perceive an alteration. She faid yes, but that fhe hoped it was for the better. My father faid, fhe hoped fo too, but faid it was for death: for the quirling pain was gone, her fwallow was gone with it alfo; and her ftomach was cleared, but felt no pain. This was about two o'clock on Thurfday morning; and at eleven in the forenoon fhe voided, by ftool, the firft part of the worm, and about four in the afternoon, that part which you faw.

I am, &c. &c.

SARAH BROWNE.

On the cultivation of trees.

HE who conſiders the importance of ſhip-building to this country, how greatly the quantity of timber has been reduced therein, and that fifty years are neceſſary to the production of a tree of ſufficient ſize for making ſhip-timber and planks, will acknowledge the propriety of appropriating to the growth of trees a greater part of our lands, than are now reſerved for that purpoſe. This is a meaſure not only indiſpenſable,

If we intend to lay a foundation by which the next generation may avail themselves of a marine, but it is so as it relates to the article of fuel.

If we, who must soon leave the stage to others, sincerely mean to evince, by the most unequivocal arguments, the truth of what we are fond of believing ourselves, and also of persuading others to believe—that the anxiety we discover, in age, for the things of the world, arises principally from a desire to promote the interest of the next generation—let us, then, as often as we hobble abroad upon our farms, assure ourselves by sowing the acorn, and the most useful trees, though we should not expect to reap the fruits, or even see the plants spring up.

The cultivation of groves is of importance, not only as thereby we shall obtain a supply of fuel, and timber for ships and other buildings; but it is supposed, by naturalists, that groves, upon our high lands especially, would have a tendency to attract the clouds, and that the earth, which often suffers from the drought, would be more frequently watered in the heat of summer.

There are a great many acres of land, used for grazing, which will not keep more than one sheep to an acre, for which only three shillings a year are paid. If on every acre of these lands, there were transplanted one hundred and forty oaks—one to a rod—(transplanted, I say—because, if you do that, they will not be injured by the sheep, nor will they, for a number of years, injure the feed; when that shall be the case, the acorns, for swine, will be of more value than was the grass before the trees were put out)—I say if this number of trees were put out, and they should succeed well, at the end of forty years the land will be of five times the value it was before; and all the expense of raising them will not exceed six dollars. How evidently, then, is it for our interest, to fill all our broken and rough lands with trees!

To make cyder of early or late fruit, that will keep any length of time without the trouble of frequently drawing off.

TAKE the largest cask you have on your farm, from a barrel upwards; put a few sticks in the bottom in the manner that bee-hive-wires let a lye-cask, so as to make a vacancy of two or three inches from the bottom of the cask; then lay over these sticks, either a clean old blanket, or, if that be not at hand, a quantity of the swinglings of flax, so as to make a coat of about a quarter of an inch thick when it is well prest down; then put in so much clean washed sand, from a beach or road, as will cover about six or eight inches in depth of your vessel; pass all your cyder from the press through a table-cloth suspended by the corners, which will run out the pummice; and pour the liquor gently upon the sand, through which it must be suffered to filter gradually, and as it runs off by a tap inserted in your vessel in the vacancy made by the sticks at the bottom, it will be found, by this easy method, as clear as cyder can be expected, after the most laborious process of refining, and all the mucilaginous matter, which causes the fermentation and flowing of cyder, will be so separated as to prevent that disagreeable consequence.

N. B. Other methods may easily be invented of passing the cyder through the sand, which is the only essential part of the above process.

Remarks on planting potatoes under straw, weeds, &c.

Mr. Prince,

I Have frequently seen potatoes planted on the top of a piece of grass-ground, nine inches distance from each other, and then covered with new or old wheat, rye, oat, buckwheat, or peale straw, salt hay, sea and rock weed, and various other matters of this kind, about twelve inches thick; this covering forms a proper defence from the sun and weather, and by closely uniting with the grass below, has formed a proper place for the potatoes to grow in; in a method which produces as many, as large, and as excellent as in any other manner that we practise in America; when thus covered, they require no attendance until the time of gathering them in the fall; this is done by raking the straw, &c. with a fork; then we find the potatoes covering the whole of the ground, without any necessity of digging for them, because none have entered the earth.

Early potatoes may be raised, and taken during the summer, without injury or loss, to such small ones as are destroyed by pulling the tops from the earth in the hills or rows.

In this method, by covering them upon mould prepared as a hot bed, they are raised with great rapidity.

Where this straw, &c. cannot be procured in sufficiency, the bark taken from the tanners' vats will admit as a laying upon six inches of straw.

The straw or sea-weed covering may be dried and stacked or housed for a next year's crop, and then will be properly prepared for being turned into the earth as an excellent refreshment of manure, and enriching the ground for a future crop of crops.

Receipt for preserving the flies from destroying the seeding leaves of turnips, cabbages, and other vegetables, for less than sixpence per acre expence.

MIX one ounce of flour of brimstone with three pounds of turnip-seed dusty, for three days successively, in an earthen glazed pot, and keep it covered close, stirring it together well at each fresh addition, that the seed may be the more impregnated with the sulphur; then sow it as usual on an acre of ground; and let the weather happen wet or dry, it will keep the fly off till the third or fourth seeding leaf is formed, and by this time, they will be somewhat bitterish, and consequently much out of danger of this little black flying insect, which in summer may be seen sometimes in swarms on the wing near the ground, searching for and feeding on the fresh leaves, till they ruin thousands of acres in some seasons, by lying and nibbling under the little clots of earth at night, and during the day following.

On the culture of ginseng.

COMPLAINTS have lately prevailed of ginseng arriving at the East Indies in a ruined state. This evil, if not remedied, may injure America in this important article of commerce. Should the matter be neglected, and the article continue to be badly cured, it will meet the condemnation of the Chinese mandarins.

The merchants in many instances advertise, that they want to purchase ginseng, but it must have a yellow colour. This is a mistake; as it may look yellow, and yet be very poor.

The question is, when and how it should be collected?

It ought to be collected in the de-

eſt days of October, and ſhould have no connexion with the heat of the ſun or fire, or be waſhed.

Ginſeng is an aromatic: and its virtues are eaſily evaporated, after it comes out of the ground, if improperly uſed. I have ſeen the Indians laugh at the folly of the white people when they have ſeen them in the brooks waſhing their ginſeng. The reaſon why they waſh it, is to make it look of a yellow colour, but the virtues of the root ſo ſtrongly impregnate the water that it may be taſted many rods diſtant. After waſhing the root, people generally expoſe it to the ſun or fire, which ſcalds the ſkin, and when it feels dry, it is packed up; but the watry particles left within, will ſoon occaſion it to ſweat, mould and ſpoil.

The root, immediately after it comes out of the ground, ſhould be ſpread on boards, under a ſhelter where the wind can blow freely, and when dry the duſt can be bruſhed off. When one barrel is put up ſo, it will fetch more than fifty barrels cured the other way.

Reſolves of the houſe of delegates of the commonwealth of Virginia.

Tueſday, November 6, 1787.

RESOLVED, that the importation of rum into this commonwealth, ought to be prohibited from and after the day of next.

Reſolved, that the importation of all foreign malt liquors, ought to be prohibited from and after the day of next.

Reſolved, that the importation of brandies and other ſpirituous liquors extracted from materials not the growth, manufacture or production of any part of the united ſtates, ought to be prohibited from and after the day of next.

Reſolved, that a duty or tax of ought to be impoſed on all bar iron and iron caſtings, imported into this commonwealth, not being the produce of any place within the united ſtates.

Reſolved, that a tax, or duty of per buſhel, on all coal imported into this commonwealth, not the produce of any of the united ſtates, ought to be impoſed.

Reſolved, that a tax, or duty of on all hempen ropes and cordage, not the produce of the united ſtates, imported into this commonwealth, ought to be impoſed.

Reſolved, that a tax, or duty of ought to be impoſed on all raw hemp, not being the growth or produce of any of the united ſtates, which ſhall be imported into this commonwealth.

Reſolved, that the importation of cheeſe, butter, pork, tallow, and tallow candles, into this commonwealth, which are not the produce of the united ſtates, ought to be prohibited.

Monday, November 12, 1787.

RESOLVED, that the free uſe and navigation of the waters ſtreams and rivers of this commonwealth, and of the waters leading to the ſea, do of right appertain to the citizens thereof, and ought to be conſidered as guaranteed to them by the laws of God and nature, as well as compact.

Reſolved, that every attempt, in congreſs, or elſewhere, to barter away ſuch right, ought to be conſidered as ſubverſive of juſtice, good faith, and the great foundations of moral rectitude, and particularly deſtructive to the principles which gave birth to the late revolution, as well as ſtrongly repugnant to all confidence in the federal government.

and deſtructive to its peace, ſafety, happineſs, and duration.

Reſolved, that a committee ought to be appointed, to prepare inſtructions to the delegates repreſenting this ſtate in the congreſs of the united ſtates, to the above purport; and to move that honourable body to paſs an act acknowledging the rights of this ſtate, and that it tranſcends their power to cede or ſuſpend them; and deſiring the ſaid delegates to lay before the general aſſembly ſuch tranſactions as have taken place, reſpecting the ceſſion of the weſtern navigation.

Saturday, November 17, 1787.

RESOLVED, that all and every act or acts of aſſembly, now in force in this commonwealth, repugnant to the treaty of peace with Great Britain, or any article thereof, ought to be repealed; but the operation of this law ſhall be ſuſpended, until the executive ſhall be informed by congreſs, that the other ſtates in the union have paſſed ſimilar laws of repeal.

Reſolves of Congreſs.

October 12, 1787.

ON a report of the board of treaſury, to whom was referred a memorial of the Canadian refugees on Lake Champlain, praying for a continuance of the ſupply of public proviſions:

Reſolved, that ſuch of the aged and infirm among the ſaid Canadians as may not be able to provide for the ſubſiſtence of themſelves and families, be ſupplied for the ſpace of twelve months, with rations at the public expence (excepting the articles of rum, ſoap and candles) agreeably to ſuch a return of perſons coming under the above deſcription, as ſhall be made to the board of treaſury, by the ſecretary at war.

October 22, 1787.

RESOLVED, that a million of acres of land, to be bounded eaſt by the ſeventh range of townſhips, ſouth by the line contracted for by Cutler and Sargent, and to extend north as far as the range of townſhips, and weſtward ſo far as to include the above quantity; alſo, a tract to be bounded as follows, beginning at the mouth of the river Ohio, thence up the Miſſiſippi to the river Au Vaſe; thence up the ſame until it meets a weſt line from the mouth of the Little Wabath; thence eaſterly with the ſaid weſt line to the Great Wabath; thence down the ſame to the Ohio, and thence with the Ohio to the place of beginning, be reſerved and ſet apart for the purpoſe of ſatisfying the military bounties due to the late army, and that no locations, other than for the ſaid bounties, be permitted within the ſaid tract, until they ſhall be fully ſatisfied.

That the ſecretary at war take meaſures for aſcertaining the exiſting claims for ſuch bounties, and that the geographer proceed to have the ſame ſurveyed under the direction of the ſecretary at war, agreeably to the terms upon which they have been promiſed.

October 23, 1787.

ON the report of a committee conſiſting of mr. Kean, mr. Clark and mr. Grayſon, to whom were referred draughts of commiſſions for the governor, the ſecretary, and the judges, of the territory of the United States, north-weſt of the river Ohio:

Reſolved, that the following be adopted.

For the governor.

The united ſtates in congreſs aſſembled, to Arthur St. Clair, Eſq.

WE, repoſing ſpecial truſt and confidence in your integrity, prudence and ability, have conſtituted and appointed, and by theſe preſents, do conſtitute and appoint you the ſaid Arthur St. Clair, governor, in, and over the territories of the united ſtates of America, northweſt of the river Ohio, and commander in chief of the militia therein; to order, rule, and govern the ſame, conformably to the ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, entitled, "An ordinance * for the government of the territory of the united ſtates, north weſt of the river Ohio," which is hereto affixed: And we do hereby give, and grant, to you, the ſaid Arthur St. Clair, all the powers, authorities, and prerogatives alleged to the governor of the ſaid territory, in, and by the ſaid ordinance. And we do ſtrictly enjoin all perſons to pay due obedience to this our commiſſion. This commiſſion to take effect, from the 6th day of February 1788, and to continue in force, for the term of three years, thereafter, unleſs ſooner revoked by congreſs. In teſtimony, &c.

[The commiſſions for the ſecretary and judges are nearly ſimilar with the foregoing.]

Reſolution of the convention of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania.

December 15, 1787.

RESOLVED, that when the conſtitution, propoſed by the late general convention, ſhall have been organized, this commonwealth will cede to the congreſs of the united ſtates, the juriſdiction over any place in Pennſylvania, not exceeding ten miles ſquare, which, with the conſent of the inhabitants, the congreſs may chooſe for the ſeat of the government of the united ſtates, excepting only the city of Philadelphia, the diſtrict of Southwark, and that part of the Northern Liberties, included within a line running parallel with Vine-ſtreet, at the diſtance of one mile northward thereof, from the river Schuylkill to the ſouthern ſide of the main branch of Cohockſink creek; thence down the ſaid creek to its junction with the river Delaware. But the marſh land ſo much of the adjoining bank, on the ſame ſide of the ſaid creek, as ſhall be neceſſary for the erecting any dams and works to command the water thereof, are excluded from this exception.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this convention, that until the congreſs ſhall have made their election of a diſtrict, for the place of their permanent reſidence, and provided buildings for their accommodation, they have the uſe of ſuch of the public buildings within the city of Philadelphia, or any other part of this ſtate, as they ſhall find neceſſary.

Reſolution of the ſupreme executive council of Pennſylvania.

November 14, 1787.

RESOLVED, that within five weeks after the election of preſident and vice-preſident, the council ſhall annually examine into the conduct of all officers of government, whoſe appointments are in the power of council, and likewiſe make enquiry reſpecting the circumſtances of their reſpective bail, in order to re-

NOTE.

* For this ordinance, ſee page 188.

move thoſe officers who may appear negligent or unfaithful in the diſcharge of their duty, and to remedy any defects that may appear reſpecting their ſtations; and that the ſecretary of council be annually appointed the eighth day after the election of the preſident and vice preſident; and that the reſolution of the 11th of April be reſcinded.

Extract from the minutes,
CHARLES BIDDLE, ſec'ry.

Reſolution of the houſe of delegates of the ſtate of Maryland, Nov. 13, 1787.

RESOLVED, that the honourable James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer, and Luther Martin, eſquires, deputies from this ſtate to the late convention, be requeſted to attend this houſe on Thurſday the 29th inſtant, to give this houſe information of the proceedings of the ſaid convention.

By order,
W. HARWOOD, C. H. D.

Letters relative to the incurſions and depredations of the Indians in the ſtate of Georgia.

I.

Letter from the hon. John Sevier, eſq. governor of the ſtate of Franklin, to the hon. George Matthews, eſq. governor of the ſtate of Georgia, dated, Mount Pleaſant, aug. 30, 1787.

RESPECTING the conduct of the Creeks, I think it extraordinary, indeed, that they ſhould have the inſolence to demand any white perſon, as a ſatisfaction, when it is notoriouſly known, that they were the firſt aggreſſors; and that they have frequently and inhumanely murdered our good citizens for many months paſt.

The two encloſed letters, from colonels Robertſon and Bledſoe, will inform you of the many murders committed in that country by the Creeks; alſo of the fate of captain Davenport, and ſome others, in the Chickaſaw nation. From paſt experience, I believe, every overture, made by that perfidious nation, the Creeks, is intended for a deception.

The ſtate of Georgia may be convinced, that we will encounter every difficulty, in order to raiſe a formidable force, to act in conjunction with your army, in caſe of a campaign.

We have lately been informed from Virginia, that a number of gentlemen in that ſtate are ready to join us as volunteers.

Our aſſembly ſat but a few days, and adjourned to the ſecond month of September. They ordered four hundred men to be raiſed, for the defence of our frontiers.

II.

Letter from col. Robertſon to the governor of the ſtate of Franklin, dated Nafhville, Auguſt 1, 1787.

BY accounts from the Chickaſaws, we are informed, that at a grand council held in the Creek nation, it was unanimouſly determined to do their utmoſt, this fall, to cut off [the inhabitants of] this country: and we expect the Chickaſaws have joined them.

On the 25th of July, a party of Creeks killed captain Davenport, agent for Georgia, and three more, in the Chickaſaw nation, wounded three, and took one priſoner, which the Chickaſaws are not able to relieve for want of ammunition.

The people are drawing together in large ſtations, and do every thing neceſſary for their defence: but I fear, without ſome timely aſſiſtance, we ſhall chiefly fall a ſacrifice. And

munition is very scarce, and a Chickasaw now here, tells us, that they imagine to reduce our nation by killing our cattle, &c. and starve us out.

We expect they are now on their way to this country to the number of a thousand.

III.

Letter from col. Blackie, to the governor of the state of Franklin, dated Sumner county, August 5, 1787.

THE savages are daily committing the most cruel outrages. Five major Hall, and his eldest son, fell a sacrifice to their fury, two days ago, near Sinklow's Lick. They have killed about twenty-four persons in the course of a few months, in this settlement, besides a number more near us.

IV.

Letter from general Cook, to the governor of Georgia, dated Mulberry-Grove, state of Franklin, June 25, 1787.

WHEN I take a view of the local and political situation of this country, I conceive the interest of your state, to be as respects Indian affairs, almost inseparable from the safety and happiness of this country. I am certain, every thing to serve your state, or its interest, will be done by the people of Franklin. General Kennedy, I imagine, will be able to raise one or two men, as volunteers: and I think I can raise a like number. An army of two or three thousand men will be quite sufficient to march through any of their towns. I hope the Indians here may not have to be troubled in our state, as the Cherokees report. The accounts from that nation are, that the Creeks have killed twenty-five families without the loss of a man. I have ordered the different colonels under my command, to hold themselves in readiness, as much when another shall require it.

V.

Copy of a letter from general Clark, to his honour the governor of the state of Georgia.

Log Creek, September 24, 1787.

SIR,

YOUR favour of the nineteenth inst. I have received, and am informed, that the arms and ammunition mentioned, have arrived at Washington.

I had certain information, that a man was killed on the fourteenth, near Greenbrough, by a party of six or seven Indians, and that on the fifteenth, colonel Barker, with a small party, was waylaid by fifty or sixty Indians, and wounded, and three of his party killed. This, and the information contained in mr. Barnard's last letter, and a variety of other accounts equally alarming, determined me to raise what men I could in the course of 24 hours, and march with them to protect the frontiers; in which space of time I collected 180 men, chiefly volunteers, and proceeded to the place where col. Barker had been attacked; there I found the bodies of the three men mentioned above, mangled in a shocking manner; and after I had buried them, proceeded on the trail of the murderers, as far as the South fork of the Cumberland, where, finding I had no chance of overtaking them, I left it, and went up the said river, until I met with a fresh trail of Indians coming towards the frontier settlements. I immediately turned, and followed this trail until the morning of the 1st, between 11 and 12 o'clock, when I came up with them. They had just crossed a branch called Jack's creek, through a thick cane brake; and were encamped and cooking as an appearance. My force then consisted

of 130 men, 30 having been sent back, on account of their horses being tired and lame. I drew up my men in three divisions, the right commanded by col. Freeman, the left by major Clarke, and the middle by myself. Col. Freeman and major Clarke were ordered to surround and charge the Indians, which they did with such dexterity and spirit, that they immediately drove them from their encampment back into the cane-brake, where, finding it impossible for them to escape, they obstinately resisted our fire until half past four o'clock, when they ceased, except now and then a shot.

During the latter part of the action, they seized every opportunity of escaping by small parties, leaving the rest to shift for themselves. Almost tired, I thought it most advisable to draw off, as the men had suffered for want of provisions nearly two days, and for want of water during the action, but more particularly to take care of the wounded, which amounted to 11, and 6 killed. From every circumstance I am certain there were not less than 15 Indians killed, and am induced to suppose that could I have staid all night, I must have found 40 or 50 dead of their wounds by the morning:—In short, they were totally defeated, with the loss of their provisions, clothing, &c. consisting of the following particulars:—Two guns, 31 brass kettles, and 87 large packs, containing blankets, match coats, boots, moccasons, tomahawks, pipes, upwards of 100 halters and bridles, &c. from all which I judge their number was fully equal to ours. Col. Freeman and major Clarke distinguished themselves, and, from the spirit and bravery with which the whole of my little party acted during the action, I do not believe that had we met them in the open woods, we should have been more than five minutes in giving them a total overthrow.

While I was on this excursion, two skirmishes happened near Greenbrough, in one of which one man was wounded, and in the other the guard of arms were left, being guarded by only two men, while the rest of the party were gathering fodder.

Should there not be a break made, I flatter myself you will afford the back country all the support in your power. Indeed I cannot go and much farther without your assistance; the general scarcity of provisions in this part of the state renders our necessity of supplies from below; indeed men cannot be drawn out without it; the delays that this would occasion, would be fatal to the frontiers. Had I not fallen in with that chosen party of Indians, every circumstance bespeaks their design to disturb the back settlers, and I think that Allen's mill, or lower, would by this time have become a frontier settlement; and I am convinced, that if the back settlers once break, they will not stop with us.

I have now to beg your attention to the unfortunate wounded, who are at Read's Fort. A doctor, some wine, tea, coffee, and sugar, are indispensably necessary.

I shall expect an answer to this as soon as possible; and should wish to be informed of the probability of a break being made, if that event should not already have taken place. I think that the sentry of activity on, and attention to, our frontiers, will prevent my accordance, should the break convene.

I am, &c. &c.

E. CLARKE, brig. gen.

The hon. George Mathews, esq. governor of Georgia.

VI.

A letter from major Elholm, to the honourable general Moultrie, dated, Augusta, State of Georgia, November 11, 1787.

THE savages are daily committing new marks of cruelties on the inhabitants of this state, shocking to humanity. The other day, they tortured a prisoner as long as they could contrive to give pain to human nature, and then left the unfortunate victim with a stake drove through the bowels.

Every possible preparation to bring the Creeks to justice, is making; and one half of the militia immediately ordered into the field—an enemy of fifteen industriously engaged in raising four regiments, consisting of 750 men each—and I am informed with great facility. I have engaged (unbeknown to any fellow citizens for that purpose) for Franklin, to act in concert with 1500 Creeks, with the movements of the state of Georgia, and to be commanded by a general of their own, to the west of the mountains.

A commissioner is to be sent to the Spanish governors, to request of that government not to afford our common enemy with any arms or ammunition, &c.

Letter from the hon. William Pierce, esq. to Don Diego de Gardoqui, encargado de negocios of Spain.

New York, September 3, 1787.

Dear sir,

I spoke to you some time ago, respecting a complaint made by many people in Georgia, against the inhabitants of Fort Pannure, for protecting and refusing to deliver up certain runaway negroes, belonging to some of the citizens of that State. I, at that time, was not sufficiently informed of the circumstances, to address you in my public capacity; but since then, I have had a letter from our chief justice Osborne, and a presentment of the grand jury of Camden county, (a copy of which I enclose) that make it proper I should ask your attention to the correction of an abuse, which, if not timely checked, may interrupt that harmony that ought to prevail between Spain and the united States.

There are certain duties, which nations, contiguous to each other, are ever liable to, and ought by both parties to be carefully watched over, and guarded against as much as possible.

I know full well your good disposition to preserve a good understanding between the two nations, and the sincerity with which you would undertake any thing not inconsistent with the interest and dignity of your own country, to prevent any unfriendly or misunderstanding taking place between the subjects of his catholic majesty and the citizens of any part of our republic.

Under this persuasion I am led to hope, that you will employ the earliest opportunity to make such information to the department where the evil can forever be checked, as you may think advisable; and that through your interference every cause of complaint may be removed.

I have the honour to be, sir, with very much esteem and respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM PIERCE.

His excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui, encargado de negocios of Spain.

Reply to the preceding letter.

New-York, Dec. 19, 1787.

Dear sir,

BY my secretary I delivered you a letter of my address dated the 19th

Indelphia, which deprived me of enfuring your charmed [favour of the] third inſtant as ſoon as I wiſhed.

I now do it, aſſuring you that nothing will give me greater pleaſure, than that of contributing to the harmony, welfare, and perfect good underſtanding of your ſtate and my country.

I have the extract of the preſentments you enclofed me, but give me leave to tell you that I have now by me the ſame fort of complaints, from our governor at Angoſtine, and even of a ſtronger nature—of two of our ſubjects being detained on your ſide, and refuſing to deliver them up. Such, and many others, may be expected on both ſides, from want of a good arrangement of all matters between the two nations.

I came to this country for this laudable purpoſe; I have been in it two years and an half, and you muſt be well informed that no delay has been occaſioned by me.

I ſhall, however, make with pleaſure the proper uſe of your letter and extract, to bring our commander on your frontiers to the moſt friendly underſtanding with your ſtate, and ſhall feel happy if my interference removes every cauſe of complaint.

I have the honour to be, with great eſteem and regard, dear ſir, your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant.

JAMES GARDOQUI.

Hon. William Pierce, Eſq.

At a meeting of the wardens, veſtry, and other members of the epiſcopal church, in Providence, R. I. on Monday the 12th of November, 1787.

VOTED unanimouſly, that we conceive it to be the indiſpenſible duty of all churches, carefully to watch and ſuperintend the conduct of its members; and in caſe of violations of the precepts of morality and revealed religion, privately in the firſt inſtance to admoniſh; and if the offender prove refractory and irreclaimable, then to proceed to public cenſure. This opinion is founded in reaſon, in revelation, and on the immemorial uſage and practice of all chriſtian churches, ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity. In conformity, therefore, to this neceſſary and uſeful part of our diſcipline, we are obliged to proceed to the public cenſure and excommunication of David Brown, of Johnſton, in the county of Providence, yeoman, a member of this church; whoſe conduct in attempting to diſcharge an honeſt debt, due to John Clifford, in ſpecie, with one-ſixth part of its value, is the immediate ſubject of our preſent animadverſion; and has led us to this public vindication of our church diſcipline.—The fulfilling of agreements, voluntarily entered into, with honeſty and good faith, is enjoined by the cleareſt principles of reaſon, and the expreſs commands of our moſt holy religion—and the obligations ariſing from theſe laws are ſuperior to, and not ſtrainable by, any municipal ſtatute or inſtitution whatever.—The conduct of the ſaid David, in the above tranſaction, appearing to us highly culpable, private admonition hath been tried; but unfortunately without ſucceſs.—For the vindication, therefore, of the church, and to deter others from committing the like offences, and with the hope of ſtill reclaiming our offending brother, we do declare, that his aforeſaid conduct is a fraudulous breach of the laws of our moſt holy religion, and directly oppoſite to the moſt obvious principles of morality.——We do therefore hereby manifeſt our diſapprobation, by thus publicly cenſuring our ſaid brother.

Voted, that the clerk of the veſtry do enter the above vote and declaration of this meeting in the pub-

ſter book of the church, and that the ſame be publiſhed.

Atteſt. JOHN INNES CLARK } War.
MERCALF BOWLER } dens.

Adreſs of the inhabitants of Northampton, Maſſachuſetts, to the hon. Caleb Strong, eſq. and ors. Brethren Shelden, their delegates in the late convention, appointed to decide upon the propoſed federal conſtitution.

GENTLEMEN,

IN conformity to a reſolution of the general court, paſſed the 25th of October laſt, we have delegated you to meet in ſtate convention, on the ſecond Wedneſday of January next, for the purpoſe of adopting or rejecting the propoſed conſtitution, for the united ſtates of America.

The object of your miſſion gentlemen, is of the higheſt magnitude in human affairs—every ſtep we take in the progreſs of our examination, evinces, that it is too important, complicated, and extenſive, to be haſtily decided upon—much time, and unwearied application, are requiſite in order thoroughly to inveſtigate it: The civil dignity and proſperity of this ſtate, of the united ſtates, and perhaps of humanity, are ſuſpended on the deciſion of this momentous queſtion: and we wiſh you, gentlemen, patiently to hear, and attentively to examine, every argument that ſhall be offered for and againſt its adoption—be not unduly influenced by any local conſideration—let your minds be impreſſed with the neceſſity of having an equal, energetic, federal government—it is the welfare and dignity of the union, as well as of Maſſachuſetts, that you are to conſult—and while you are tenacious of the rights and privileges of the people, be not afraid to delegate to the federal government ſuch powers as are abſolutely neceſſary for advancing and maintaining our national honour and happineſs.

But, gentlemen, we muſt not to give you poſitive inſtructions relative to your voting for or againſt the propoſed conſtitution.—When aſſembled, you will have the collected wiſdom of the ſtate before you; will hear all that can be ſaid on the ſubject, and conſequently be able to form a judicious opinion: and having the fulleſt confidence in your political wiſdom, integrity and patriotiſm, we chearfully, on our part, ſubmit the all important queſtion to your deciſion—and we beſeech the allwiſe Governor of the world, to take the convention under his holy influence, that ſo the reſult may be, the beſt good of the people of the united ſtates of America.

(Copy)—Atteſted by
ELIJAH HUNT, T. Clerk.
Northampton, Nov. 24th, 1787.

Reſolves of the inhabitants of Pittſburgh.

AT a meeting of the inhabitants of Pittſburgh, November 9th, 1787, for the ſpecial purpoſe of taking the ſenſe of this town with reſpect to the ſyſtem of confederate government, propoſed by the late convention at Philadelphia:

General John Gibſon, in the chair:

It was conſidered, that having had an opportunity of hearing on both ſides the ſtrictures which have been made upon this ſyſtem of government, in converſation, in the gazettes, and in other writings, on mature deliberation, we are of opinion it is the reſult of much political wiſdom, good ſenſe, and candour in thoſe who framed it; that we have no reaſon to expect any thing better from any other body of men aſſembled in convention; that from the neceſſity of mutual conceſſion with the different ſtates, it is

not probable that any thing more equal could be formed; that our proſperity depends on our ſpeedy adoption of ſome mode of government more efficient than that which we now poſſeſs; that of all people it becomes us of the weſtern country more eſpecially to deſire an object of this kind, as, from the weakneſs of congreſs to take proper meaſures with the court of Spain and Britain, we are on the one hand deprived of the advantages of the Miſſiſippi trade, which is our natural right, and on the other are liable to the incurſions of the ſavages, the poſts on the lakes not being yet delivered up according to treaty.

Reſolved therefore unanimouſly, that it is our ardent wiſh and hope that this ſyſtem of government may be ſpeedily adopted.

Signed by order of the meeting.

JOHN GIBSON, Chairman.

Ratification of the new federal conſtitution, unanimouſly agreed to by the convention of the ſtate of Delaware, which met at Dover, on the third day of December, 1787.

WE, the deputies of the people of the Delaware ſtate, in convention met, having taken into our ſerious conſideration, the federal conſtitution, propoſed and agreed upon by the deputies of the united ſtates, in a general convention, held at the city of Philadelphia, on the ſeventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, have approved, aſſented to, reſolved, and conſented, and by theſe preſents do, in virtue of the power and authority to us given, for that purpoſe, for, and in behalf of ourſelves and our conſtituents, fully, freely, and entirely approve of, aſſent to, ratify and confirm the ſaid conſtitution.

Done in convention, the ſeventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven.

[New Jerſey has alſo unanimouſly ratified the new conſtitution, in terms nearly ſimilar to the foregoing.]

Ratification of the new federal conſtitution, agreed to by the convention of the ſtate of Pennſylvania, which met in Philadelphia, on the 24th day of November, 1787, and continued by adjournments to the 12th day of the following month. [Annexed to the new conſtitution].

In the name of the people of Pennſylvania:

BE it known unto all men, that we, the delegates of the people of the commonwealth of Pennſylvania, in general convention aſſembled, have aſſented to, and ratified, and by theſe preſents do, in the name, and by the authority of the ſame people, and for ourſelves, aſſent to, and ratify the foregoing conſtitution for the united ſtates of America.

Done in convention, the twelfth day of December, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, and of the independence of the united ſtates of America, the twelfth.

On the queſtion to agree to the above ratification, the yeas and nays were as follow:

YEAS.

George Latimer,	*Jacob Hubley,*
Benjamin Rush,	*Jaſper Yeates,*
Hilary Baker,	*Henry Wynkoop,*
James Wilſon,	*Thomas Campbell,*

Thomas M'Kean,	Thomas Hartley,
William M'Pherson,	David Grier,
John Hunn,	John Black,
George Gray,	Benjamin Pedan,
Samuel Edwards,	John Brush,
Enoch Edwards,	Stephen Balliet,
Henry Wynkoop,	Joseph Hemfield,
John Barclay,	David Deshler,
Thomas Yardley,	William Wilson,
Abraham Scott,	John Reed,
Thomas Ball,	Thomas Scott,
Anthony Wayne,	John Nevil,
William Gibbons,	John Allyn,
Richard Downing,	Jonathan Robeson,
Thomas Cheyney,	John Richards,
John Hannum,	F. A. Muhlenberg,
Stephen Chambers,	Jacob Morris,
Robert Coleman,	Timothy Pickering,
Sebastian Graff.	Benjamin Elliot. 46

NAYS.

John Whitehill,	William Findley,
John Hanna,	John Baird,
John Reynolds,	William Todd,
Robert Whitehill,	James Marshall,
Jonathan Hoge,	James Edgar,
Nicholas Lutz,	Nathaniel Breading,
John Ludwig,	John Smilie,
Abraham Lincoln,	Richard Baird,
John Bishop,	William Brown,
Joseph Heister,	Adam Orth,
James Morris,	John A. Hanna,
Joseph Powell.	15

Law reports.—Court of King's Bench, London.—15 G. III.

Wadsley versus Delancey.

THIS was an action of covenant, brought to recover the purchase money of an estate, in New York, sold by the defendant, who is a loyalist, after an act of attainder of the state had been passed against him, attainting his person, and confiscating his estate.

In the deed of conveyance to the plaintiff, the defendant covenanted, that at the time of sale, he was seized of a clear and indefeasible estate of inheritance, and that he had a good right to sell.

The existing act of attainder was admitted by the defendant, who also admitted, that the plaintiff, after the evacuation of New York, was turned out of possession, by the commissioners under the act of attainder, who sold the estate.

This was a cause which very materially affected the interests of the loyalists.

Counsel for the plaintiff said they were not able to cite any authorities in point, as this was perfectly a new case. They contended, that as the defendant knew of the act of attainder, at the time of the sale, and the plaintiff was ignorant of it, he had in fact paid his money for nothing, and defendant, in conscience, ought to reimburse it. That the preliminary articles of peace having stipulated that the congress should recommend the restoration of all the forfeited estates, such a stipulation confirmed the right to pass acts of forfeiture, and would not have been made, if the right to confiscate had been doubted.

He enquired if the act of attainder had passed subsequent to the conveyance to the plaintiff, the defendant in that case, would not have been liable.

Counsel for the defendant was proceeding to argue in behalf of the defendant, but Lord Mansfield begged he would not trouble himself; it was a clear case.

His lordship said this was nothing more or less than a covenant on the part of the defendant that he was seized of a clear estate in fee, at the time of the sale. So he was by all the laws existing at that time, and then known to this constitution. He did not go counter against revolutions of empires, or against an usurped force. A covenant of this sort cannot be extended to political revo-

revolutions, or the accidents of war.

The plaintiff was nonsuited.

Law cases.—Court of king's bench, London.—26 G. III.

Norton versus Rind.

THE plaintiff was indorsee of a bill of exchange, and brought this action, as trustee for the payee, against the defendant, the acceptor. The bill was for 100l. drawn by Watson, at New York, on the defendant, in London, and accepted by him; but, on being offered for payment, was refused, and the action had been defended on the ground of this having been an usurious contract between Watson, (the drawer) and the payee, and that the note was therefore void—Watson having received only 170l. consideration, and the bill being for 200l. with interest. Evidence was offered to prove, that this was equally usury in New York as in London.

The bill was drawn in November, 1780.

At the trial, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff. The defendant now moved for a new trial.

Sir Thomas Davenport, for the defendant, infifted, that wherever a foreign bill of exchange was made payable in England, the law would find out whether it was a good bill, either by the laws of that country, or thofe of the country where it was drawn. That the acceptance by the defendant, fhould make no difference—the note being abfolutely void. He relied ftrongly on evidence being admitted to prove the tranfaction to be ufury by the laws of New York.

Lord Mansfield, without hearing the plaintiff's counfel, faid—" The cafe is the fame as if it were between the lender and borrower: though on the bill of exchange, the drawer is anfwerable to the perfect defendant, you cannot execute the penal law of another nation here. It is a penalty on the plaintiff, if he is debarred by the ftatute of ufury from recovering. The ufurious contract was, in fact, executed at New York. The principle, laid down by Sir Thomas, would, if admitted, extend to all foreign bills, and would affect the courfe of exchange between this and other nations. The ftatute of ufury does not extend to the plantations; and, independent of that, any bargain may be made for money, on whatever terms the parties think fit. If the fanction of the law of a foreign nation might be thought material, yet verbal evidence of that law cannot be received." Lord Mansfield added, he remembered a cafe of two officers who gamed at Marfeilles, and one brought an action againft the other for the money won: it was referred to Sir William Draper, as a queftion of honour, who pronounced them to be two fcoundrels.

The rule for a new trial was accordingly difcharged.

Law cafe, refpecting a captured veffel.

A CAUSE was argued in the common pleas of the ftate of Pennfylvania, on Saturday the 18th of Auguft, 1787, of a very intereting and important nature. It was the cafe of Stanhope againft Penhallow. In the year 1777, a veffel belonging to a citizen of Connecticut, bound from England to Nova-Scotia, was taken by a citizen of New-Hampfhire, and condemned in the inferior court of admiralty, as a legal prize. Upon an appeal to the fuperior court of admiralty for that ftate, the decree below was affirmed; but the cafe being removed into the court of errors and appeals for the

united states, the proceedings were reversed, and a decree given in favour of the appellant. After this an action was instituted in a common law court of Massachusetts, to recover damages from the captors, but that court would not allow the decree of the court of errors and appeals for the united states to be read in evidence, and the plaintiff was therefore obliged to discontinue his action. The question was revived in Pennsylvania, upon an attachment which had been laid on the property of the captors in this state, the defendant moving to set aside the attachment upon three leading objections: 1st, that congress had no power, at the time when the orbit was taken, to institute a court of errors and appeals, and therefore that the appeal of the decree of the courts of admiralty for the state of New Hampshire could not operate. 2dly, That the proceedings in Massachusetts, upon the common law suit, under the article of confederation, were binding upon our courts; and 3dly, that as the matter was originally of admiralty jurisdiction, none of the consequences are cognizable by our common law courts. The questions were discussed with great ability by the counsel on both sides, and the court took time to consider of the judgment, which was pronounced on Saturday, the 6th of September, 1787, when mr. justice Shippen observed, that it was unnecessary to determine the 2d and 3rd points, since the court were clearly of opinion on the third, that the question was exclusively cognizable in a court of admiralty, and therefore, that the attachment issued here, in a common law court, could be quashed.

Laws repulsive relative to notes of hand.

ON Saturday, the 6th of September, 1787, was determined in the court of common pleas, for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, a cause, January versus Gardiner, wherein it was established as a principle, that where there are fictitious names to a note of hand, it is necessary, as in the case of a deed, to produce them upon the trial, or to give some satisfactory reason for their absence: but that, if there are no witnesses, mere proof of the party's hand writing is sufficient.

This distinction deserves the attention of the public: as the obtaining witnesses to a note of hand, has frequently been considered as a matter of useful precaution, but it may, we find, be productive of considerable inconvenience.

Account of an attempt made, in the year 1750, by William Bryan, esq.

SURINAM, a colony of South America, belonging to the states of Holland, abounds with as many natural curiosities as any country in the world. But that which I shall open to be an interesting to my readers, and which I believe has not as yet been accurately described, is a fall of the waters of red, and in sought there to pass among other falls, of metals in small rivers, and I believe to be found in most of the neighbouring provinces. In the autumn of the year it is not unlike a cataract of Europe or America, and as large as I have it more, except that it is thicker in proportion to its length, and the land is more flat and not so pointed; but differs from them in this respect, that it comes in the form, or nearly in the air. It is called by the Dutch Lauwe val, and by the English inhabitants the sandy fall. As to the other particulars, of which I mean chiefly to take notice, and which I think are as different

from the torpedo of Surrey, as the fish is in shape, they are as follow.

On touching the fish so as to lay it in the water, in a tub provided for it, a sudden and violent shock is received, in all respects like that which is felt on touching the prime conductor, when charged with the electrical fluid from the globe; and like that, chiefly affects the ends of the fingers and elbow. Gently holding the tail of the fish with one hand, and touching the head with the other, a very violent shock is felt in both elbows, and through the breast and shoulders. I at first imagined that the violence of the shock proceeded from both arms receiving it at the same time, and that the pain was no more than that of the two strokes added together; but I found myself mistaken. For upon divers persons joining hands, and the first taking hold of the tail (which may with more safe be held than the head) and the fourth at the same time touching the head, we were all affected in both elbows, and that in the same manner as I remember to have been in the electrical experiment, when several persons take hold of the wire, and the equilibrium is restored by the fluids passing through their bodies.

I find the shock may be received through metallic fishlines. On touching the fish with an old sword blade, I was strongly affected. But arming it with sealing-wax, and taking hold of that part which was covered with it, the electrical fluid (I cannot help calling it so) would not pass; neither has it any effect on the body when touched with glass-bottle, sealing-wax, &c. Yet I cannot observe the least diminution of this quality by placing the tub, which contains the fish, on glass-bottles; it continues the same in all respects, so that whether it has an unaccountable faculty of collecting a quantity of the fluid from the surrounding waters, or through the body of the person touching it, or has in its own body a large fund which it can discharge at pleasure, I am greatly at a loss to think or imagine.

Although it has no effect on the human body when touched with a piece of wood, or indeed any other substance not metallic; yet an accident discovered to me, that on some occasions the effect would be feeble through wood. For one morning while I was standing by, as a servant was emptying the tub, which he had lifted entirely from the ground, and was pouring off the water to move it, and the fish left almost dry, the negro received so violent a shock as occasioned him to let the tub fall; and calling another to his assistance, I caused them both to lift the tub two from the ground, when pouring off the remains of the water, they both received fourt shocks and were obliged to desist from emptying the tub in that manner. This I afterwards tried myself and received the like shock. This fish indeed was one of the largest I have seen and but newly caught. For I observe after being four time confined in a tub, and wanting perhaps their natural food, they lose much of the strength of this extraordinary quality. I am sometimes apt to conjecture, that this animal has the power of communicating the shocks when, and with what degree of force it will; and that it serves him as a weapon of defence against his enemies. For I have often observed that on first taking hold of it, the shock is vehement; but as soon as he perceives himself the least confined, it is much more violent. This I experienced to my cost, as I one day took hold of it, about the middle of the fish. I lifted it partly out of the water, when on a sudden I received so smart a shock that it instantly struck a strong convulsion in the bending muscles of my fingers, and I could not involuntarily let it go; but endeavouring to disengage my hand

shew it on the ground; taking hold of it a second time, to return it into the tub, I was more strongly affected than at first, and that not only in my hands and arms, but throughout my whole body; the dampness of my head, and the back parts of my legs suffered principally: and to the same manner as on receiving a very smart shock from a highly charged phial in electrical experiments.

On dipping the finger[s] in to the nature and degree of strength, upon touching different parts of the fish, was different. I was at first inclined to think it might be owing to its having an extraordinary number of contracting nerves of the fluid in one part of its body than in another. The tail part to above one third of its length, occasions rather a numbness and tingling, than pain. But on applying the end of the fingers to the back, head, and under part of its body, it causes a sharp pricking pain. This may probably be accounted for by the difference in the texture of the surface of the fish, as the manner of the electrical fluid's coming from a glass tube is different when its surface is altered by being rubbed with different substances, as has been lately taken notice of in a letter to the royal society.

These are the principal observations, the short time I resided at Surinam, allowed me an opportunity of making relating to this extraordinary animal.

Method Peeble's receipt for pickling beef, pork, mutton, &c. and keeping the meat good and sweet.

TAKE four gallons of good water, to which add one pound and a half of muscovado sugar *, two ounces of fair petre, and six pounds of bay or common grey salt; put the whole into a clean pot or kettle, and let it boil, being careful to take off the scum of as it comes up. When no more scum rises, take the liquor off, and let it stand till it is cold. Then having put the meat you want to preserve, into the vessel you intend to keep it in, pour the liquor over the meat till it be quite covered, in which condition it must be kept. Meat, preserved in this manner, has been taken out of the pickle, after lying in it six weeks, and been found as good as if new killed more than three days, and at the same time as tender as a chicken.

If you intend to preserve your meat for a considerable length of time, it will be necessary, once in two months, to boil the pickle over again, skimming off all that rises, and throwing in, during the boiling, two ounces of sugar, and half a pound of common small salt. Then the same pickle will hold good for twelve months. This pickle is as comparable to ox tongues, ox tongues, or beef which you intend to dry, or make what is called hung beef: observing when you take them out of the pickle, first to clean and dry them, then put them in paper bags, and hang them up in a dry warm place.

N. B. Some, who have tried the above receipt, think their meat fairer than this will effect, and instead of 6lb. take eight or nine pounds of salt.

In the hottest weather it has been found necessary, before the meat is put into the pickle, to rub it well over with salt, and let it lie from one to three or four hours, until all the blood runs out from it. If the meat is to be kept tainted, before it is put into the pickle, it will be requisite to boil the pickle once a day's time, as last receipt.

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* Molasses will answer.

Recovery of two drowned children.

A Child of mr. Samuel Dashwood, jun. painter, in Bolton, of two years of age, in the month of October, 1787, fell into a cistern of water, seven feet deep, and was taken out by a gentleman of the neighbourhood, and was apparently dead: fortunately this gentleman was acquainted with the methods recommended by the humane society, and immediately began to put them into practice.

The subject was unclothed and wiped as dry as possible; hot blankets were wrapped round the body, and as one became cold, another was applied; with these, friction was used to every part of the body; after a few minutes (between four and seven) they had the unexpected satisfaction to discover signs of returning life: the first symptom of recovery, was a convulsive motion of the cheek, attended with a forcible effort to diftend the lungs: a physician arriving at this time, the pulse was examined, and though perceptible, it was extremely languid and irregular: fumigation of tobacco was vigorously applied, and on the first injection, into the bowels, it instantly produced a full inspiration, succeeded by a loud and laborious rout, and an evident increase of the action of the heart. On *suspending* the use of this remedy for a minute, the vigour of the pulse was forcibly abated; and on returning to it again, the effects were as before, together with a *small discharge of indigested matter* from the stomach: in about twenty-five minutes from the child's being taken out of the water, the pulse began to beat with some degree of regularity, and the breathing to be performed with less labour and interruption, though he was still to appearance in considerable distress. At this period he was placed in a hot bed, with a person who was diligent to continue the friction; hot bricks were applied to the feet, and a warming pan of coals directed to be repeatedly moved over the bed clothes. In three or four hours, he appeared to be perfectly recovered, and is now a healthy and promising child.

The society have the further satisfaction to communicate to the public, the instance of a child of mr. Hollis, preserved from drowning, by the spirited exertions of mr. Joseph Gleaton, of Bolton, in the month of September last: this child had fallen over board at the time of high water, from a wharf at the south part of the town, and had once or twice sunk. Mr. Gleaton instantly plunged in with his clothes on, and at the risk of his own life, relieved him in safety to the arms of his parents. At a meeting of the trustees, he was declared entitled to the sum of 5*l.* as a premium for his services.

Directions for the recovery of persons apparently dead from drowning.—Published by order of the humane society of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

CONVEY the person to the nearest convenient house, with his head raised. Strip and dry him as quick as possible. Clean the mouth and nostrils from froth or mud. If a child, let him be placed between two persons naked, in a hot bed. If an adult, lay him on a hot blanket, or bed, and in cold weather, near a fire: in warm weather, the air

should be freely admitted into the room.

The body is next to be gently rubbed with warm woollen cloths, sprinkled with spirits, if at hand—otherwise dry. A heated warming pan may be now lightly moved over the back, properly covered with a blanket: and the body, if of a child, is to be gently shook every few minutes. While these means are using, one or two assistants are to be employed in blowing tobacco smoke into the fundament, with the instrument provided for the purpose, or a tobacco pipe, if that cannot be had. The bowl filled with tobacco, and properly lighted, being covered with a handkerchief, or piece of linen, so as to defend the mouth of the assistant in blowing. Bathe the breast with hot rum, and persist in the use of these means for several hours. If no signs of life should then appear, let the body be kept warm several hours longer, with hot bricks, or vessels of hot water, applied to the soles of the hands, and soles of the feet, and this for a longer or shorter time, as the circumstances of the case may dictate.

Exemplary charity.

THE humane society of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, actuated by the same disposition to mitigate the miseries, and preserve the lives of their fellow men, which originated their institution, have, at a considerable expence, erected three small houses, for the relief and preservation of shipwrecked seamen—one on Lovell's island, fronting on the north west side, on a rising ground, about forty rods from the beach or shore: one on the outer beach of Nantasket: and one on Seituate beach, a little to the northward of North river, on the neck of land, which is usually called the Hummocks:—their living, in the judgment of the marine society, the places most expedient, and most likely to answer the ends for which they are intended. The humane society have ordered poles to be erected on them, to point out where said houses stand: and in them they have deposited the necessary means of kindling and preserving a fire, and some other means necessary for the comfort and relief of the shipwrecked mariner.

Could they suppose that any person [but those intended to be relieved] would be so lost to every feeling of humanity and gratitude, as to take away any of those comforts and refreshments, they might think it needful to inform the public, that they shall take effectual means to detect, and to punish with the utmost severity of law, the person or persons who may commit any robbery upon their houses: but they cannot think, that any one, who has the smallest trace of humanity or of justice, would deprive the poor, helpless, and distressed mariner of any thing, which may be necessary to his comfort or ease, in circumstances of extreme calamity.

The following is extracted from an oration, pronounced by David Daggett, esq. attorney at law, in the city of New-Haven, in Connecticut, on the 4th of July, 1787.

THE eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us. Their writers and orators, who extolled our height, and prophied our future greatness, now laugh at our folly—burlesque our policy—and censure our dishonesty. They reflect on us for what we have been—admire for us what we might be—and despise for us what we are.

A blaze, an ignoble, contemptible

them, without children, without intimate friends, but for a while professed gentlemen, in the chief academy of Muhlenberg. And what if a greater than Sharp, a Cromwell or a Cæsar should arise! Where are our bulwarks against the assault! If we look up to Congress, they are distracted and distressed with impotency: If to foreign nations, they will mock with perfidy, where is your gratitude for past favours, and your redemption for past failures! Where is your faith and honour in dishonouring this gratitude for country generously loaned you when in the hands of infidels! If we forsake the affections of our citizens, we shall fall in vain. Public life is lost. The days of [illegible] are numbered. We cannot [illegible] our citizens with that confidence and love of their country, which exalted them in preceding [illegible], with unanimity, [illegible], and death. If we spread an inextinguishable odium of the civil and military [illegible], which [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

SELECT POETRY.

The newsmonger's song, for the winter of 1787.

GOOD news, brother dealers in news and pack,
The world's turn'd bully, and's rowing to blows:
Write good luck, or ne'er-luck, my boys, it's all one,
All perfons may live, when the battle's begun.
Down, down, down derry down.

Our tutors and fages would oftentimes fay,
"Sit omnibus hora,"—each dog has his day:
Queen Anne's was the era of genius, 'tis known:
Arguendo, this day is for fcribbling alone.
Down, down, &c.

Here Claxton, and Babcock, and Webber, and Stoddard,
Hall, Sellers, Childs, London, Oswald, Humphreys, and Goddard,
Claypoole, Spotswood, Green, Bailey, Bradford, and Dwyer,
May thank the kind ftars for fuch luck to their paper.
Down, down, &c.

Come on, brother fcribblers, 'tis idle to lag:
The convention have let the cat out of the bag.
Write fomething at random—you need not be nice—
Public fpirit, Mercantipire, and guns a-fifter Price.
Down, down, &c.

Talk of Holland and Genoa, and of parties and feuds,
Democratical mobs, and congreffional bands;
Tell what is forreader'd, and what is enjoy'd:
All things weigh alike, boys, we know, in a void.
Down, down, &c.

Much joy! brother printers, the day is our own:
A time like the prefent, fure never was known:
Fortifications are making—embattled field—
All nature feems preach to bring grift to our mill.
Down, down, &c.

Huge comets come more through the fyftem will fteal;
The moon, they inform us, is turn'd to a coal.
Old Saturn is crumbling—the fun has a fpot—
The world and its glory are going to pot.
Down, down, &c.

All Europe, we hear, is in horrible pother,
They jockey, they bully, and kill one another.
In Holland, where freedom is bobbin learning,
All's fighting and fcouring, and pulling and hauling.
Down, down, &c.

The tyrant and Poland fuch wallops are giving
That [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Down, down, &c.

In England, lord Howe! what wonders we view!
North lifted as a tar—loud George Gordon a Jew:
Or lobsters, or puttings, on Hastings strait:
And Sheldon, yes sure, disbelievers the fact.
Down, down, &c.

Privy George has whispered the News for the church,
And Howe, like a true-blue, in Solomon's porch:
Corruption pervades through both country and town,
And the rank of the nation is down derry down.
Down, down, &c.

We bid Europe farewell—the Atlantic is past—
O fam'rous Columbia! you're welcome at last.
Her conquests, conversions, exploits, slavries, and things,
With hankeyns, and knave-pr'n, and such pretty things!
Down, down, &c.

The Stars had a fall, and receiv'd a concussion,
And all things are ruin'd in dreadful confusion:
Sure quacks and fate midwives are bubbling all round,
But in spite of their drugs, we go down derry down.
Down, down, &c.

Write, then, brother Scribblers. Your talents display.
This world is a stage; and man's life but a play.
When the curtain is drawn, and the evening is o'er,
Kings, knaves, and weavers, are equal once more.
Down, down, &c.

Old Time, with his teeth-eating tooth, shall confound
The works of a Homer, a Newton, a Hume:
And who, when all things are confound'd by old Time,
Can tell but we Scribblers were writers sublime!
Down, down, &c.

The CRISIS.

FEW now, my countrymen, before our eyes,
At our own option, FAME or RUIN lies.
Ye brave Continentals (if you now can claim
The glorious name, to bear so great a name)
Arouse! let all that's dear to man implore
Their hands which once display'd a gen'rous fire:
Secure that empire dear, for which you fought—
Which many toils and fore-spent nations bought.
Can you to fame, in dark dishonour wake
Sloth and its evils, and the lie lonely pall?
Will you your country, your fellows hands—
Bow down your necks—the yoke of bondage take?
No! you reply—We'll join in freedom's cause,
To keep her strength, establish her laws,
And firmly for her preservation, to keep
'Till time shall cease, and nature fade away.

An AMERICA

The RUSTIC COURTSHIP.

As country Hodge, the/ Bolton roves,
His [illegible] Cardiffe loves,
A left-eye leads down his eye,
But leers not what he means,
With cream-face, he frighted fared,
And view'd it all around;
A cog that pull'd, his arm pull'd back,
So cou'd the bull be found.
Quick to the door the maiden came,
saying—" Sir, your wants declare?"
" None," said Hodge—" Then tell me, friend,
" What country-man you are?"
" Why, if I needs must tell as much,
" From Taunton first I came,
" To view the lights in this large town;
" And Hodge, Sir, is my name."
" I thought as much," the sly nymph said,
Then gave a hearty laugh;
" For she has been a country lass,
" And he! our dunce, a calf."
" It may be so," Hodge quickly said,
" There's lights in every place;
" For as a Bolton dame once sung,
" Our pops a candle's face."

Poem, on the project of having the fine arts flourish in Ireland.

O! hail the days—no fetter'd genius halts,
When arts and manners dwell above the walls;
When wreath-deck'd, or where bellona roves,
Shall form the freedom's, or the poet's grove;
When beauty, chaste and soft'd, her power shall wield,
Unknown to love, to melody, or song,
Shall fear, unblushing, to the harmonious throng
Of wreath-accomplish'd, and of graceful dames!
Then shall content adorn the lasting plain,
When peace and plenty are delight to reign;
Commerce shall then her sacred wealth unfold,
And agriculture yield the fruits of gold;
The foreign emigrant repair once more
Upon a civilis'd, a cultur'd shore;
Where, chang'd the form, from what the land* foretold,
His new abode shall far excel the old;

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* Dr. Goldsmith.

There no tornados shall his ark invade,
Nor fashion infidious lurk within the shade:
The various terrors of the horrid shore,
To distant climates found delusory no more:
But foes to domestic shall his peace defend,
And all the virtues his retreat attend:
The cooling breeze, the gently rolled grass,
Around his dwelling, deck the rural farm;
And all the arts that minister to life,
Expel, for ever, party feuds and strife.

Sweet bard! the muse has oft sweet'd thy soul,
Thy gen'rous ardour for thy country's weal,
That noble flame, which did thy bosom fire,
When from their fields, thou saw'd the hand retire,
Whole facial merit, and domestic praise,
Thy pen has consecrate, in deathless lays:
But now, behold, from heav'n's imperial bow'r,
Where are the pleins, more fortunate than ours!
Where is the nation bids more fair for fame,
Or can, with justice, higher honours claim!
Say, on what coast do men more freely share
The various blessings human life can bear!
Or where so little is opposition known,
From Zembla's regions to the torrid zone!

See quick approach that period of renown,
When poetry shall add her truest crown
To thole rich honours, which our country grace,
And form the glory of her brilliant race.
When painting, oils, with promethean fire,
Shall deck her canvas, and her forms inspire;
When architecture shall exalt the dome,
Whole fame shall rival that of ancient Rome:
When music's hand shall strike the silver lyre,
And marble, grave, from sculpture's skill acquire,
Then shall Columbia's wealth lock no more
For foreign smiles upon a foreign shore;
But here combine together, to display
The finish'd glories of her riper day!
But lo! what flow'rets we already claim,
What lovely harbingers of future fame!
Behold philadelphy's * bright temple rife,
And † cares to learning every where surprife:
What schemes of charity the soul excite
To ails of luxury, and unmix'd delight!
Soon to the jail ‡ with pitying steps repair,

NOTES.

* Philadelphical hall, now building.
† The new episcopal academy in Philadelphia; Dickinson, Franklin colleges, &c.
‡ The society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons.

To minister to wants that languish there;
Others * the bird of ranging thought transmit,
And the wealth pungs of human genius limit;
Some to fair freedom † living slaves unite,
And bid the negro celebrate her praise;
Others ‡ the farmer, with their cares embrace,
And pay due homage to his useful race;
Some || manufactures and the arts promote,
Others ¡ humane Philanthropists exalt
But crown the work, the benefactors exult
Of all the joys which decorate our lives,
Which, fall increasing, views of bliss supply,
That fill the prospects of the kenneth eye.

Oh glorious prospects! how divinely fair,
Make them, ye patriots, your supremest care;
In fed'ral laws ¶ cement the wide domain,
And bind the union with a dearbleb chain;
But let the arts attend its earliest dawn,
Proclaim its rising, on the colour'd lawn;
In fewest away its first approaches lead,
Grow with its growth, and with its strength proceed,
So shall the universe applaud your fame,
And nations, foes till now, your friendship claim:
For "till dependent pow'r can time defy,
As rocks resist the billows, and the sky."

But chiefly you, ye fair! whose heav'n decrees
To charm, to soften, captivate, and please,
To you belongs the pencil and the lyre,
The tube to fathom, and the fact t explore,
The fad to cheer, the thoughtless to reclaim,
To urge the timid, and to check the vain:
Great is the pow'r of their engaging arts,
To guide the millions, and to conquer hearts:
These are the talents of your sapient council,
Who fork to lead and elevate the mind
From low pursuits, and from debasing vice,
To peace, to joy, to harmony, and love.

Oh then, neglect not mode to acquire,
So form'd to cherish the celestial fire.

NOTES.

* The dispensary.
† The negro society.
‡ The agricultural society.
|| The manufacturing society.
¡ The humane society, &c.
All substitutes of the utmost utility and glory to this country.
¶ The new federal constitution.

To fan devotion, friendship to improve,
And woo the mind to sentiment and love:
Wide let its influence o'er the world extend,
And what it cannot conquer, strive to mend:
Spring let it welcome, summer sports endear,
Delight the autumn, and the winter cheer:
So shall the year to harmony be given,
And earth be found the prototype of heav'n.

If in some fatal unexpected hour,
Your wealth should vanish or your prospects lour,
How sweet the warblings of the tuneful lyre,
The hope to cherish, that might else expire!
Still in your courage give to music place,
And let it check the tear that foils the face:
Oh think how fleeting life, its woes not long,
Then calm their throbbings with a cheerful song:
So death shall bear your patient minds away,
To realms of endless bliss, of endless day!
But if propitious fortunes on you shine,
Add to their lustre all their arts divine:
Oh let them humanize and sway the breast,
Which often hardens, where no griefs molest:
So shall like pity close your dying eyes,
And cherubs waft you to their native skies.

The bachelor. Number II.

The old burning of bachelor's hall.

FAIR Venus so often was miss'd from the skies,
And Bacchus as frequently absent likewise,
That the synod began to enquire out the reason,
Suspecting the culprits were plotting of treason.
At length it was found they had open'd a hall,
At a place by the mortals call'd bachelor's hall;
Where Venus discover'd ev'ry fun she could think of,
And Bacchus made nectar for mortals to drink of.
Jove, highly displeas'd at such riotous doings,
Sent Time to secure the whole building to ruins.
But Time was so slack with her traces and darbies,
That Jove, in a passion, consum'd it to ashes.

[*To be continued monthly.*]

CHRONICLE.

1787.

Philadelphia, July 7. The supreme executive council, considering the seditious tendency of the proceedings of certain persons, who assembled on the seventh of May last, at Fallon, in Northampton county, filling themselves a town meeting, and who, among other things, determined to refuse the payment of taxes, and to intercourse with the inhabitants of the other townships of the county to withhold their taxes, unless a certain act of the legislature was repealed, directed the attorney-general to prosecute such of them, as had been most active on this occasion. Accordingly the warrants of his honour the chief justice, were taken out for doctor Andrew Leslie, and Garret Brodhead, who, early this week, were brought down before the judge, in the custody of the sheriff of Northampton, and bound with proper sureties, to appear and answer for their misconduct, at the next assizes for the county. Three others (by direction of the chief justice) have been admitted to bail, before justice Lucas, at Fallon. Dr. Smith, of Northampton county, who is also accused, being from home, has not yet been brought to this city. Thus fuch care been taken, to nip the beginning of disorders in the bud.

A letter from Brunswick, dated July 5, says, "the assembly of New Jersey have laid a tax of 30l. per month, upon the light-house, on Sandy Hook, in this state. This land (being four acres) was formerly purchased from the proprietor, mr. Hartshorne, by the corporation of New York, for the purpose of maintaining a light-house, public inn, and kitchen garden thereon. This tax, it is said, has been imposed to counteract the severity of the law in New York, which exacts that every vessel-boat and shallop from New Jersey, of more than twelve tons, shall be regularly entered and cleared out at the custom-house, in the same manner as if they had arrived from any other foreign port. This restriction, it is needless to observe, throws almost the whole of the little profits which ought to reward the industry of our numerous fraternity of boatmen, that ply between the eastern parts of this state and our sister New York, into the hard grasping hands of the officers of the customs of that city."

Charleston, July 2. A letter from a gentleman in Augusta, to his friend in Savannah, dated 19th June, says, The back country people have killed three hundred Indians, and a party under the command of colonel Alexander, consisting of three hundred men, is gone out; so that a general war is thought to be unavoidable. A number of the scout horses have within this week past been stolen in and near Augusta, likewise two negroes: some more slaves were taken, but made their escape, and gave the alarm: one Prater is taken up on suspicion of being concerned with the thieves, who are supposed to have made their way to the Indian nation. A party is out after them, and are in hopes to overtake them.

Boston, July 18. A letter from Princeton, dated July 15, says, by a gentleman from the westward, we have received the following account of emigrants to the settlement of Kentuckey, and the falls of the Ohio, taken from a return made by the adjutant of the troops stationed at fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Mus-

kingum, viz. from the 10th of October, 1786, to the 12th of May, 1787, there have paſſed the garriſon, down the Ohio, 177 boats, containing 2689 ſouls, 1333 horſes, 766 cattle, 101 waggons, and one phaeton, beſides a number which paſſed in the night unobſerved.

A letter from a gentleman belonging to this town, dated Fort Pitt, June 25, 1787, ſays, the ſurveys will not be carried on this ſeaſon; the Indians have confederated, and are determined to oppoſe the meaſure. They have lately met in a ſpeech to the ſuperintendant, and our fur congreſs. They wiſh to have a general council held; and ſay that all that has been heretofore done on the ſubject of relinquiſhing Indian rights, &c. is of no effect, it having been done by ſome of their people, who were not authoriſed to do it. It is the opinion of the people in this country, that this conduct of the Indians, is owing to their having been informed, that no troops were to be ſent out to reinforce col. Harmer.

AUGUST, 1787.

Philadelphia, Auguſt 4. Yeſterday arrived in this port a Spaniſh frigate, having on board many families from Ireland, France and Germany, who purpoſe to ſettle in Carthagena. They are allowed proviſions while on the voyage, at the expence of the Spaniſh government, and when they arrive at their place of deſtination, they will each be entitled to a lot of ground and accommodations, till they are enabled to ſupport themſelves.

Aug. 9. The Heſſian fly, which has made ſuch deſolation among the wheat in Connecticut, New-York, and New Jerſey, has lately been diſcovered near Newtown, Bucks county, in this ſtate.

Aug. 18. From the eaſtward we underſtand, that the ſpirit of *Shayſism* rapidly ſubſides, and that Shays himſelf is almoſt deſtitute of a companion. It is remarkable, however, that notwithſtanding the rewards offered by the different ſtates, no attempt has been made either to ſeize, or to betray him.

Newberne, Auguſt 2. A circular letter is handing about the country, recommending a kingly government for theſe ſtates—The writer propoſes to ſend to England for the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, ſecond ſon of the king of Great Britain, and have him crowned king over this continent.

New-York, Auguſt 5. A bill for promoting and encouraging a trade to America was paſſed in the laſt parliament on the 5th of May laſt.

Pittſburgh, Auguſt 18. On the third inſtant, a ſmall party of the Indians came down to the banks of the Ohio river, nearly oppoſite Coxe's Fort, and killed and ſcalped a certain Iſrael Ogburn, who had croſſed over that morning to the Indian ſhore; after doing this miſchief, they retired. The ſame day a ſmall party of the militia collected, followed the Indians ſome diſtance up Creſs Creek, but returned that evening without making any diſcovery.

On the 5th, captain M'Mechen, at the head of twenty five volunteers, of which twenty one were on horſeback, croſſed the Ohio river, took the Indians track, followed and came up with them near the Muſkingum, killed and ſcalped one of the three that was in the party. The reſt fled, leaving behind them all their luggage, among which were ſeveral articles belonging to Ogburn.

Boſton, Aug. 21. By a gentleman from the ſouthward we are informed, that congreſs have permitted the Ohio company, lately aſſociated in this and the neighbouring ſtates, to make a contract for nearly five millions of acres of land in the federal territory, ſituated, in its greateſt extent, on the Ohio, and bounded both on the eaſt and weſt by the Muſkingum and Scioto rivers—that the officers and ſoldiers,

who are of this affociation, may be indulged with their bounty lands within the purchafe, provided they do not exceed one feventh part of the whole—That the donations of forty-fix thoufand acres for a general and public ſeminary of learning, fix thouſand and forty for religious purpoſes, in every township of fix miles ſquare, and an equal quantity for a public ſchool, are made by the honourable congreſs to the proprietors of the ſoil, and their aſſociates for ever.

The veſſels being out from this port for Kamſchatka, are to be commanded by captain John Hendrick, and will be ready to ſail in about ſix weeks.

Accounts from Farmington, Sudbury, Marlborough, &c. in the county of Middleſex, in this ſtate, contain diſtreſſing particulars of the devaſtation made by a hurricane, which paſſed thro' thoſe towns about ſix o'clock on Wedneſday the ſeventh inſtant. The meeting of the currents of air which occaſioned this deſtructive whirlwind, was attended by a report ſimilar to that of heavy cannon, with flaſhes like ſharp lightning. Great damage was done thereby to the fields of rye, corn, flax, &c. of which numberleſs acres were levelled with the ground, and with them the hopes and proſpects of many an induſtrious huſbandman, whoſe ſole ſubſiſtence, the enſuing winter, perhaps, depended on the crop which his labours had nearly perfected, and which this event has cut off. Whole forefts were levelled, the herbage of almoſt every kind greatly injured, and the trees of the orchards twirled from their roots, and ſcattered to a great diſtance.

Many buildings are more or leſs damaged, but of one only we can give an account. This, it is ſaid, was raiſed from its foundation, whirled to ſome diſtance, and daſhed to pieces. In the houſe were ten women, who, by their fall, received ſo much hurt, as to make their recovery doubtful. Though ſeveral perſons are reported to have received injury by the wind, no lives, as we hear of, have been loſt.

Among other ſingularities naturally to be expected from the effects of ſuch an event as the one above mentioned, is the following: a cart with a yoke of oxen, loaded with hay, with a boy on the top, (the whole together weighing about two tons) were raiſed from the ground by the ſtrength of the wind, and carried to the diſtance of ſix rods.

A great fall of rain attended the hurricane, which, by inundating vaſt tracts of low land, added greatly to the damages ſuſtained by the unhappy ſufferers, whoſe ſituations call loudly for the ſympathy of their fellow-citizens.

Richmond, Auguſt 22. A letter from Nathville, dated July 7, 1787, ſays, We are at laſt fortunate enough to deſtroy that neſt of pirates, ſituated at the Muſcle Shoals, who have been the cauſe of ſo much calamity to this ſettlement, for more than two years paſt.

It may now be wondered at, why we ſuffered their depredations ſo long. Our ignorance of what was their deſign, when they took poſſeſſion of the place—whoſe ſubjects they were—and a reſpect to the connections America has with foreign powers, operated to retard our uniting to make an effort againſt them. We now find that the whites were a motley crew of Spaniards, Canadians, and tories, who, without authority, came within the limits of the united ſtates, on a pretence to trade with the Indians, under colour of which, they excited the unfriendly part of the Cherokees and Creeks to murder our defenceleſs inhabitants, and the traitors to this country and to Kentucke.

We have killed forty of them, chiefly Indians, among whom we

have reason to believe was the noted chief M'Gillivray. The prize we made, is considerable, in goods, deer-skins, furs, and dollars.

We set out in two parties, one by land, the other by water. The land forces made the attack, and had not a man hurt. Those that went by water, were more unlucky: for on their way down Cumberland river, they were fired at by a party of Indians, and had eight men wounded. Our people were off their guard, close in by the shore: however, they spiritedly returned the fire, and the Indians ran off. That part of our force was intended to intercept such as might be attempting to make their escape down the Tenasee: but our land force completely forgetting the enemy, prevented the necessity of such precaution.

It was pleasing to see with what alacrity our troops pushed forward to the attack, notwithstanding a fortification was in view, and expected to be stormed: however, it was unfinished. The enemy took fright at the first order; abandoned their works and horses; and with the greatest precipitation fled; some jumping into the river, attempted to get off in canoes and boats: but a well-directed fire from our rifles, brought to the most of them.

We intend another expedition shortly: and should Georgia and Franklin co-operate with us, we hope to be able to ratify a lasting peace with most of the Chickamogo and unfriendly Creek Indians, before Christmas.

Extract of a letter from Chemung, dated July 16, to a gentleman in Baltimore.

"Cornelius Sturgeon, the great Onondago chief, was murdered last month, at the Tioga point, by one of his own tribe, and a townsman. It appears to have been a premeditated piece of work, and had its rise from two causes. 1st. He was an obstinate defiant in his tribe, and impeded an immediate compliance with his orders: he was punctually obeyed therefore, not love. 2d. He began to adopt the dress and customs of the united States, and introduce them in his family: this gave great umbrage. As he was a man of some literature, he had some idea of the great value of letters, and the evening on which he was killed, in conversation with captain Spalding, he intimated him that he intended to send his son to some of the American colleges for education. The friends of the murderer purchased his life for a sum of money, not exceeding 150l. A poor recompence for the life of a great man, and too much for that of a tyrant!"

The general assembly of Franklin have divided that state into two districts, and appointed colonel D. Kennedy, brigadier general of Washington district. They have likewise appointed delegates to wait on congress for the purpose of being admitted into the federal union.

Newbury Port, August 29. The Tornado, on the 15th inst. extended to all the New England states. In many towns in New Hampshire its effects were similar to those in this commonwealth—one man, 'tis said, is missing, supposed to be blown into the river. In Rhode Island, it extended about twenty miles in length, and from 40 to 100 rods in width. Several buildings were blown down, and many others unroofed. The timber in the woods was prostrated in almost every direction; fences, stacks of hay, and fields of corn were swept away—in short, nothing in its way could withstand its violence. Happily no lives were lost, as yet heard of.

The decay of ship-building is manifest throughout the continent, but particularly at New-York, where, a traveller informs us, there is but one small vessel on the stocks.

SEPTEMBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, September 7. A correspondent informs us, that, a few days ago, he had the curiosity to go along the docks and count the vessels loading and unloading: and to his great astonishment, found there were seventeen under British colours, discharging and taking in their cargoes, and but one solitary American, which was loading with lumber for the West Indies.

Such is the litigious and unaccommodating disposition of many members of the community, that no less than two hundred and forty executions were returned at the last June court of quarter sessions; and upwards of six hundred writs are returnable the present term.

Sept. 8. Two days ago the treasurer of Bucks county, on this state, returned from the late treasurer, a receipt in full for the quota of his county, of the funding taxes up to the first of July last. How widely do the officers in this new county, which is situated beyond the Allegany mountains, exert themselves to prevent the accumulation of uncollected taxes upon the inhabitants; an evil which has so greatly distressed the interior districts of the state, and forced multitudes to remove away, from the fatal negligence of tardy collectors!

Sept. 14. A reward of a thousand dollars has been offered by governor Clinton, for the discovery of the incendiaries, who have lately attempted to set fire to New-York.

The chamber of commerce in New-York have adopted the following resolutions with respect to bills of exchange, viz. Bills on any West-India islands, Newfoundland, or other foreign possessions in America, protested for non-payment, shall be discharged with ten per cent damages, at the current exchange, when presented to the drawer or indorser.—Bills on Europe, protested for non-payment, shall be discharged with twenty per cent. at the current exchange, and that all bills drawn at thirty sight, by persons in Europe, on persons in New-York, shall be paid at the exchange current, when the bill is due.

We hear from Wilkesbarre, in the county of Luzerne, that a court was held there last week in the most peaceable manner. Two bills, it is said, were found against John Franklin, for a riot and trespass, and for assault and battery. We are told he has removed to Tioga, where he is threatening a body of troops to commit fresh acts of rebellion and treason against the government of Pennsylvania.

There are ninety applications before the court of common pleas, for discharges under the insolvent acts.

Sept. 18. Yesterday afternoon, about four o'clock, the federal convention, after having concluded the important and difficult task of framing a federal system of government, broke up; and most of the delegates, we are informed, are already on their way to communicate to their anxious constituents, the result of their deliberations.

Sept. 22. The grand jury on Monday last presented, as a nuisance, the general intercourse, between the criminals of the different lotts, in the jail; and likewise the indiscriminate mixture of debtors and criminals, in the hall originally intended for debtors only.

Winchester (Virginia) September 19. From Kentucky we learn, that a messenger has expresses from Cumberland, had arrived there, to request assistance against a large body of Indians, who had made war against them, and were then in their country; that, previous to the messenger's departure, forty three families had been murdered, and that the Indians were daily expected with their heads of men, and had attacked some of the forts. Five hundred volunteers, mounted on horses, the flower of the

Kentucky militia, were to set out on the 15th inſtant, for the relief of their brethren, ſo that we may ſhortly expect to hear of a battle, and a new diſplay of gallantry of the Mountain Boys.

Auguſta, September 22. A letter from general Cooke, at Mulberry Grove, ſtate of Franklin, to major Elliſon, in this town, dated Auguſt 28, ſays, Colonel Tyſon, a few days ago, appeared with a party of about fifty men, of ſuch as he could raiſe under pretence of ſettling a quarrel that had ariſen between our ſheriff and the ſheriff of North Carolina, though their principal view was to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of our records. This conduct produced a moſt rapid report, that they had made a priſoner of his excellency, to carry him to North Carolina, which cauſed two hundred volunteers to repair immediately to the houſe of colonel Tyſon, before they became ſenſible of the miſtake: and it was only through the influence of his excellency, that the oppoſite party did not fall a ſacrifice to our Franks. During this time, a body of about fifteen hundred veterans embodied themſelves, in order to reſcue their governor, as they thought, out of the hands of the North Carolinians, and bring him back to the mountains—an inſtance, that proves our citizens to have too noble a ſpirit to yield to ſlavery, or to relish a national inſult.

New Brunſwick, Sept. 25. The following is a liſt of the prices which the officers of exciſe brought in the counties from which we have received information. Hunterdon, 300l.—Monmouth, 1000l.—Middleſex, 170l.—Somerſet, 16l.—Briſtol, 17l. In Bergen, we are told, a gallows was erected by the populace, to hang the man who ſhould make a bid. Burlington, 5l.

OCTOBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, October 3. On Wedneſday laſt, his excellency general Waſhington paſſed through Wilmington, on his return from this city to his ſeat on Mount Vernon—and on the ſame day, in croſſing the bridge near the head of Elk, the bridge gave way, and his horſe fell into the river. His excellency had alighted in order to walk over the bridge, which fortunate circumſtance probably ſaved a life ſo dear to his country.

On Saturday laſt, at three o'clock, A. M. an expreſs, forwarded by the honourable mr. Bingham, one of the delegates from Pennſylvania, arrived in this city from congreſs, with the reſolution, recommending to each ſtate to call a convention, to take into conſideration the federal government. It was read in the aſſembly on Saturday forenoon, where it was adopted, with only two objecting votes.

From the time the reſolution of congreſs was paſſed, till its adoption by the ſtate of Pennſylvania, was only twenty hours. Such is the zeal of Pennſylvania to ſhew her attachment to a vigorous, free, and wiſe form of national government.

In conſequence of the arrival of the unanimous reſolution of congreſs, and adoption of it by our aſſembly, the bells of Chriſt church rang during the greateſt part of Saturday. Many hundred citizens of the firſt character attended in the lobby, and at the door of the ſtate houſe, during the deliberations of the houſe on the calling of a convention, and teſtified their joy upon the reſolves being paſſed for that purpoſe in three hearty cheers. In ſhort, univerſal joy appeared in every countenance (three or four officers of government excepted) and the day exhibited every where the moſt agreeable marks of

the speedy reinstruction of the prosperity and happiness of Pennsylvania.

October 6. We are informed, that John Franklin, the hero of Wyoming, has been seized by several of the friends of government, and brought to this city. It is hoped, that some legal steps will be taken to subdue the turbulent spirit of this western Shays, who has been the chief cause of the discontents in the county of Luzerne, and has uniformly laboured to involve the country in a civil war.

New-York, Oct. 11. On Friday last, congress appointed his excellency Arthur St. Clair, esquire, now president of congress, to be governor of the western territory of the united States, with a salary of one thousand dollars per annum, and to execute the office of superintendant of Indian affairs, and receive the pay and emoluments of the same, amounting to about eight hundred dollars per ann.

Boston, October 8. The marquis de la Fayette, we are told, intended a visit to America this year—but the expectation of a rupture in Europe, in which his friend will again be wanted, in defence of the rights of mankind, in the cause of the Dutch patriots, prevented it.

We are informed by a gentleman lately arrived from Paris, that by an arret of the council of the king of France, passed the 24th day of last May, the Port Louis, in the Isle of France, had been declared a free port, and opened to the American trade.

Exeter, New Hampshire, Oct. 25. On Sunday night last, mrs. Cram, wife to mr. —— Cram, of Deerfield, was safely delivered of three female children, who weighed on an average better than eight pounds a piece: they are all living and likely to do well.

Richmond, October 30. A letter from the western country, dated October 19, says, Our friends to the friendly Cherokees, and the correspondence we have continued to establish through the Indian country, even as far as the Chickasaws, has been of great ade to us particularly, and to other western settlements.

You, I understand, have been fully informed of the cause and event of colonel Robertson's expedition to the Muscle Shoals, in the beginning of last summer. This, and what happened at Georgia, about the same time, have served as a pretext to M'Gillivray, to commence open hostilities. I say, a pretext: for such it can be proved, by sufficient evidence, that the Creeks, under his express orders, have, for above two years past, been annoying our settlements, by small parties, generally killing but few—yet carrying off horses in great numbers. Such were sold to his traders at the Muscle Shoals, and in the Creek country.

Colonel Robertson's success, and the death of a chief, were sufficient to rouse the whole tribe to revenge. Our party was suddenly detached to the Chickasaws, to murder mr. Crockett, mr. Davenport, and their friends. The former had the good fortune to obtain notice, and to make his escape, with some others; but Davenport, and his party, being employed in repairing a breastwork on the Mobillyya, were overtaken, and fell victims to savage fury. About the same time, a formidable body, of between six and seven hundred, mostly Indians, set out in great parade, with drums, colours, music, and a number of horses equipped after the European manner. They were to have proceeded to the Cumberland settlements, and destroy man, woman, and child, without mercy: but happily, at the Tennessee, they were met by an express from the Creek chief, informing that a large army from Georgia, was in full march towards their towns, and advising them to return home, and defend their wives and children. All but about one hundred, infantry

tacked about, and ran homeward. The others proceeded until near the Cumberland settlement: but our people being, a few days before, alarmed by our very friendly brothers, the Chickesaws, a detachment was ordered from the garrison at Nashville, which intimidated those bloodhounds, and they retreated out of the country with precipitation.

A few days ago, a friendly Cherokee, from Chickamoga, brought us word, that five hundred Creeks were encamped at the mouth of Holstein, and that it was uncertain whether their destination was to Cumberland, Kentucky, or up Holstein, or Clinch. Our militia are all mobilling as fast as they can, to go and meet them: and I hope to see such a force assembled in a few days, as may enable us to look the enemy in the face.

Alexandria, Oct. 28. A letter from a gentleman in Providence, Rhode-Island, to his correspondent in this town, dated Sept. 15, 1787, says, We have had a shadow of an assembly at Newport, which resolved, by a majority of 12, to send no members to congress, nor to accept any constitution the convention may offer.

Congress resolved on the 3d inst. that it was still expedient to station a corps of 700 troops on the frontiers, and in order to save the expence of new levies, it was resolved, likewise, to retain as many of the troops now there (whose time of service will expire in the course of this year) as shall voluntarily re-engage. Seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates are required to be raised in the following proportions, viz. Connecticut 165, New-York 165, New-Jersey 110, Pennsylvania 280. The organization to be according to the present establishment, and the pay and allowances the same as directed by a resolve of congress of April 12, 1785.

Baltimore, October 9. A letter from a gentleman in Paris, to his friend in this town, says, "the account of the public revenue having been laid before the several boards, it has been found, that the interest of the American debt had been very irregularly paid, of which it was impossible for the boards not to make mention. In this delicate juncture, the marquis de la Fayette gave a very satisfactory account of the solidity of the American debt, saying, no debt contracted by England, France, or any other European power, could be founded on so good a basis; that besides the arguments that ought to be derived from their magnanimous national character, that debt had been settled on immense tracts of the most fruitful lands, which were eagerly sought for; and purchased by crowds of migrators, and were the property of the federal government. He could not, therefore, suppose there might be the least uncertainty on the minds of the commissioners respecting the principal of that debt; and it is with great propriety that government had formerly rejected the idea of selling it to a company under a small loss. But as it might be natural for some to think, that necessary to relax a country from the desolation of war, to give the federal government that perfection which it may still acquire, and every circumstance resulting from the situation of the country after the glorious, happy, but dearly purchased revolution, would make it difficult for the united states to be very punctual for some time to come. He declared, that not the smallest want of punctuality would have taken place, had the selfish views of the farmers general, and many prejudices about American produce, which experience will destroy, permitted the united states to liberate themselves with their commodities which are paid in gold to other nations. He then spoke of the content of twelve states to the five per cent. which is more than sufficient to fulfil every engagement; as

the convention to be held at Philadelphia; and repretrieved the credit of the united states, in the most satisfactory point of view.—I hear that the notables have spoken of the American debt with great delicacy, apologizing for the want of payment; but how can our American brethren reconcile it to their feelings, to be so deficient in punctuality!

NOVEMBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, November 3. On Wednesday last, his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esq. was re-elected president, and the hon. Peter Muhlenbergh, esq. elected vice president of this state.

The lands in the western territory of the united states, lately sold by auction, at New York, brought on an average, eighteen shillings and nine pence per acre. Some of them were struck off at six pounds per acre.

All the necessaries and conveniencies of life, have returned to the prices at which they were current before the revolution, except the article of house-rent. Provisions were never cheaper than at present, and wood, taken upon an average, has not been sold at a lower rate for the last twenty years. The landlord alone perseveres in exacting those exorbitants profits, which make not the least of the evils introduced by the truculent adventurers, who flocked hither at the close of the war.

November 17. We hear from Clinch, in Virginia, that a number of settlers, belonging to that place, who were out gathering ginseng, discovered a body of eight hundred or more Indians, marching towards French-Board, on their way to the frontiers of that settlement; that the inhabitants were in continual alarm; that orders, in consequence, have been issued for the militia to hold themselves in readiness to turn out at the shortest notice; that there was no account of any mischief being done by them, when the account came away; and that the report, some time past, of forty families being cut off in the lower settlements, was without foundation: four men only were killed, and a few wounded.

November 22. A letter from Rhode Island, dated the seventh instant, says, By the papers now forwarded, you may form some idea of the politics of this state. From the proceedings of our legislature last week, you may reasonably conclude, that our rulers have not yet completed their diabolical schemes. How far they mean to carry their vile plans, time only must make known. A viler and more abandoned set of beings never disgraced any legislative, executive, or judicial authorities, since the fall of Adam. Every conscientious and honest man, in our devoted republic, is employed in contemplating with admiration, and devoutly wishing for the speedy adoption of the new constitution, though their fears are occasionally excited on the alarm from the ill founded suggestions of a Gerry, and the more by insinuations of your sixteen seceding members—performances too well adapted to blow up the flame of dissension, and to embitter the minds of the people against all good and virtuous government. Such men, I am sorry to find, you have in Pennsylvania. Were we favoured with a constitution of government immediately from heaven, they, with our abandoned leaders, would enter their objections. God grant that there may be wisdom and goodness enough still found among the majority, to adopt what a Washington, a Franklin, a Madison,

&c. so warmly recommended.—Without this adoption, a civil war, I am afraid, will take place. This must arise from the misfortunes of some of our different state governments. The proceedings of the baptist association, lately convened at New York, are highly approved here. Their brethren, throughout the eastern states, are also highly federal. May all other denominations evidence the same zeal in cordially recommending and fervently espousing a firm, vigorous, and well-established government, so admirably calculated for the preservation of our dear-bought liberty, civil and religious.

November 28. The merchants of Dublin, aided by some powerful noblemen and gentlemen of great landed property, are about establishing a company to trade to America, the West Indies, and the south of Africa.

Yesterday, in convention, it was moved by mr. Whitehill, that a protest should be entered against the motion for ratifying the constitution, if required.

It was urged in favour of this motion, that it was the practice of the legislature of Pennsylvania, and that the minority might thereby justify their votes to their constituents and to posterity.

Against it, it was said, the practice of the legislature of Pennsylvania was singular in this respect, and that it had done more mischief than good in the state; that it would produce long replies from the majority, in defence of their votes, and that this would greatly swell the files, and increase the expence of printing the journals; that entering a protest would only serve to inflame and disturb the state, unnecessarily, upon a question, that, for the present, could not easily be reconsidered or repealed; that the newspapers were open to the minority, for protests and addresses; and that they had a much more extensive circulation and influence than the journals of the convention could possibly have.

The votes being called, there appeared—for the question, 33
against it, 44

Boston, Nov. 1. A letter from a gentleman in the state of Franklin, to his friend in New York, dated October 4, says, "Since your departure from hence, our political affairs wear a different face. Our assembly, by a special call from the governor and council, met the first instant: it was the largest that ever met since our separation from the old state, and I believe compoſed of as good characters as could be collected in any state on the continent. The principal business laid before this assembly, by our governor, chiefly concerned the hostile behaviour of his catholic majesty's subjects in the Floridas and Louisiana, towards the good citizens of this state in particular, and the other western states in general. It appears by a number of credible evidences, and authentic papers, that many of our citizens have been deprived of their lives, liberties, and properties, within the jurisdiction of the united states, by persons acting under the authority of his catholic majesty's government; and notwithstanding many remonstrances have been made by us, both to his catholic majesty's governors, and to congress, to remove these grievances, they have remained deaf to our just demands.

"Our assembly, therefore, as the fathers of the people, have thought it their indispensible duty to put a stop to all further depredations. To this end, both houses have passed a law, which provides for a body of troops to be immediately raised, to consist of 1500 men, who are to be

entitled to regular soldiers for three years. They are to be embodied in one legion, and commanded by a brigadier general of experience, who will be joined by 500 men from the Cumberland settlements. This body of troops will be ready to march in November, and mean (by the divine blessing) to teach these perfidious Catilinas into a better conduct towards the subjects of the united states. Their arms, ammunition, &c. came from Charleston before the law was made to raise this corps."

November 2. The hon. senate, we hear, has passed a resolve, by which the bounty given on whale oil, will cease after the first of December next.

November 15. The bill for propagating the gospel among the Indians, &c. read in the house of representatives on Tuesday, had a clause in it, providing, that the persons who should be sent for purposes mentioned in the bill, should be of the protestant profession. When it was read, or. Cooper rose and observed, that as good men were to be found in every profession, and as it was not conformable with the enlightened ideas of the present day, to make particular creeds the consideration of eligibility to any appointments, he moved, that the clause might be struck out of the bill, which meeting the cordial acquiescence of the whole house, was immediately done.

November 21. Last evening a bill for regulating the practice of the law, was debated, and finally rejected in the house of representatives.

Carlisle, Nov. 7. A letter from Fort Pitt, dated October 25, says, the Indians in general seem to be ill disposed to the states; they are killing people about Wheeling, on both sides of the river, frequently.

Another letter from Fort Pitt, dated October 25, mentions, that "a number of people have been lately murdered within twenty miles of Carlisle.—I must take the liberty to tell you that it is my opinion, if something is not done to settle matters, a general Indian war will take place.

"Since writing the above I am informed of a number of people being killed, and that the Indians are not far off, and have four flags with them that have been torn.—I am preparing to night, and shall march against them to-morrow, having procured two friendly Indians."

Newport, Nov. 4. On *Wednesday* last, the 31st of October, both houses of assembly met. The first business which engaged the attention of the house, was a bill for prohibiting the slave trade. A motion was made to postpone the consideration of it to the next session, as the bill was new and of great importance; but this motion was over-ruled, and the bill passed by a very large majority. To the astonishment of the public, the leading paper money members stood forth in support of the bill, reprobating the trade not only as inhuman, but as unjust and against the principles of morality and religion. It was a pleasing prelude to see the leading characters in a legislature advocating justice, morality, and religion, who, for eighteen months past, had been the authors and patrons of iniquitous tender laws.

A report on the public letters was now called for; the letter from congress, and report of the convention being read, a warm debate ensued, and the merits of the confederation were largely entered into; but on the question being put, recommending the several towns to appoint delegates to meet in convention to consider and determine thereon, it was negatived by a great majority. However, to preserve appearances, they ordered the doings of the convention to be printed in handbills and sent to the several towns. After considering a few petitions,

&c. the fellow was clothed with a gown to the waiters in paper, at 6s for one, and without repealing an act allowing the market at 8s per.

Thus fraud and injustice stalk through our land, and rob government of its brightest ornaments, and the honest part of the community of their hard earned pittance.

November 15. The paper money leaders are so interested in the existence of the present system, that no sacrifices are too great for them to make for its preservation. Not content with perverting the administration of justice, stabbing public faith at its vital, and introducing poverty among the citizens, they even seem to view a dissolution of the federal compact as of no magnitude, when placed in competition with their favourite paper money. Else why are delegates not to be sent to congress, agreeably to the promises of the legislature at a former session? Why is the liberty of the people fenced with, in not having permission to meet in convention, to consider of the proposed constitution? The anti-federal conduct in this instance, and the infidious reports which are industriously circulated by their inflammatory leaders, though they may lead astray the incautious here, will have a contrary effect in all our sister states. They will evince the necessity of a speedy adoption of the constitution of the united states.

Augusta, November 10. Last Sunday evening, mr. Vachel Dillingham, an inhabitant of the Salooka settlement, South Carolina, arrived in this town, by whom we are informed, that about a fortnight ago two men (since proved to be deserters from the party now cutting a road to Cumberland) came to col. Christian's in Sullivan county, state of Franklin, and made oath, that they had been captured by a body of Indians, consisting of about five hundred Creeks and three hundred Chickasaws, who were on their way to lay the frontiers of Franklin waste; but had since made their escape. The deposition was immediately forwarded to his excellency governor Sevier, by whose orders, in the space of two days and one night, fifteen hundred men marched towards the head of the Tenaffee, commanded by general Cocke; but the general being convinced when he arrived at Little River settlement, that no body of Indians were then near, he left the frontiers under the cover of four hundred men stationed in the vicinity of the Hiwasse.

Salem, November 19. It is a fact, not less remarkable than it will be pleasing to the benevolent mind (if it be the consequence of a conviction of error) that for the space of thirty one days previous to Saturday last, not a single prisoner, of any description, was in custody in the jail in this town—Elizabeth Leath is the only one at present there.

The jail in *Ipswich*, we are informed, has also been entirely empty for some time past.

Alexandria, Nov. 19. A letter from a gentleman in Boston, of a very late date, to his correspondent in this town, says, nothing can be predicted of the success of the plan of government, proposed by the late convention, though I think the chances are in favour of its adoption at present; but before the state conventions sit, the current may be against the plan. Many are alarmed at the idea, that the legislatures of the several states will be alredged in the power of doing wrong, and be bound by rule and compact to do right, which they consider as an hardship: others are so little that they individually can be of no importance in a steady government; while others, envious to be with the popular voice, at the expence of every thing sacred, and supposing that a new mode of being in to land in favour of liberty,

which our rulers on aristocracy, monarchy, oligarchy, &c. &c.

Nov. 30. The monument erected in New York, to the memory of that patriotic warrior, the late general Montgomery, has received the following elegant ornamental additions, designed by major L'Enfant, the gentleman to whom we are indebted for superintending its original erection:—Hymen, extinguishing his torch, mourns over the tomb. From behind the pyramid rises the sun with thirteen rays, which enlighten the quarter of a terrestrial globe, emblematical of America. Above the whole is the American eagle, flying from east to west, carrying in his talons a starry curtain, in which the globe appears to have been wrapped. It must give real satisfaction to every patriotic mind, to behold the attention of genius and taste thus generously employed in celebrating American heroism and departed virtue.

DECEMBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, December 10. The deputies to the late convention of Delaware met at Dover, on Monday, the third instant, and a house being formed, they elected James Latimer, esq. president. On Thursday, they ratified the new federal constitution by an unanimous vote: and on Friday, every member signed the ratification.

December 13. Yesterday, in the convention of this state, on motion of mr. Hartley, seconded by mr. Chambers, the original question, as moved by mr. M'Kean, viz. "will this convention object to and ratify the constitution agreed to, on the 17th of September last, by the convention of the united states of America, held at Philadelphia," was put, and carried in the affirmative.

December 14. Yesterday the convention of this state (accompanied by his excellency the president, the vice-president, and the members of the supreme executive council, also by several members of congress, the faculty of the university, the magistrates and militia officers of the city) went in procession to the court house, where the ratification of the constitution of the united states was read, amidst the acclamations of a great concourse of citizens. Thirteen cannon were fired, and the bells were rung on this joyful occasion. After this, the convention returned to the State house, and published two copies of the ratification. At three o'clock they met, and dined with the members of the supreme executive council, several members of congress, and a number of citizens, at mr. Epple's tavern, where the remainder of the day was spent in mutual congratulations upon the happy prospect of enjoying, once more, order, justice, and good government, as the ancient times.

Dec. 15. That the public may not be deceived by the assertion, "*that the ports of the English West-India islands are open to us trade*," we are desired to inform the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in London, to his correspondent in this city, dated the 31st October, which information, we are assured, may be depended upon.

"We are allowed on the part of government, that orders are coming to the governors of our islands, to admit more direction in admitting articles from the foreign islands under the present circumstances."

A number of merchants were on Monday last preferred to the convention, from the inhabitants of the county of Philadelphia, stating the advantages that county enjoys, and requesting it might be placed as the seat of the federal government; to which the exclusive jurisdiction of congress may be extended.

December 20. The convention of the state of New Jersey met at Trenton, on the eleventh instant;

and continued their ſeſſion by adjournments until the eighteenth, when, after a full and fair inveſtigation of the new conſtitution, the adoption of it was unanimouſly agreed to, and the ratification of it ſigned by all the members.

Dec. 22. By letters juſt received from a gentleman of accurate obſervation and account, at Pittſburgh, dated the 24th November laſt, it appears, that no leſs than four thouſand and two hundred people paſſed that place down the Ohio ſince the firſt of that month, and that ſeveral boats were ſtill preparing to follow them with more letters, but not a word of any diſturbance amongſt the Indians.

We hear from Georgia, that martial law is proclaimed throughout that ſtate—that the town of Savannah is ſtrongly fortified by ſeveral redoubts and other works thrown up round it, and that ſmall parties of Indians have committed depredations within thirty-ſix miles of Savannah.

Charleſton, S. C. Dec. 5. The reaſon given by Spain for refuſing to open the Miſſiſippi, is, that Weſt Florida was a conquered country, by that nation, and therefore the court of Great Britain had no right to inſert in the treaty of peace with the united ſtates, the following clauſe: "Article VIII. The navigation of the Miſſiſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the united ſtates."

When mr. Jay was at Madrid, he had a commiſſion from congreſs, to offer an excluſive navigation of the Miſſiſippi for fifty years, provided Spain would vigorouſly aſſiſt America; that court took ſo much time to conſider this propoſition, that in the interim, lord Cornwallis ſurrendered: a victory ſo happily fortunate to America, gave a new turn to their meaſures, and congreſs therefore immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to their ambaſſador, ſignifying their pleaſure that the matter ſhould be ſuſpended.

Salem, December 2. By a vote of the Ohio company, one hundred ſettlers are to be ſent on to their lands, this fall and winter. Theſe ſettlers are to be ſupplied with proviſions to the ſettlement—on their arrival at Pittſburgh, to be taken into pay by the company, at four dollars per month, and to continue in pay till May next: the payment of their wages to be in lands, computing their monthly wages to purchaſe public ſecurities, at the rate they may be procured when their ſervice expires, and eſtimating the lands at the rate the company purchaſed of congreſs. Each man muſt provide himſelf with a good muſket, bayonet and cartridge-box; and if they provide an axe and hoe, and mechanics their neceſſary tools, they will be tranſported gratis.

New-York, Dec. 15. It is worthy of remark, that amongſt the various claſſes of citizens who conſider their intereſts and happineſs eſſentially combined with, and dependent upon the adoption of the propoſed conſtitution for the united ſtates of America, the ſhip-carpenters of Philadelphia have given the moſt irrefragable proof of their approbation of the ſame, by conducting on the evening of its ratification by the ſtate of Pennſylvania, a veſſel on wheels through the ſtreets of Philadelphia, decorated with flags and inſignia emblematical of their fond expectation of the revival of commerce and navigation under this happy government.

Dec. 19. The legiſlature of the commonwealth of Penſylvania have reſolved, that the exciſe ſhould be double, that an additional duty of two pence per gallon be laid on Madeira wine, one penny per gallon on all other wines, one ſhilling per dozen on wines imported in bottles, one penny per pound on lawns and lin-

pound, three pence per pound on all other teas, and one penny per pound on coffee.

New Brunswick, December 25. On Wednesday the 19th inst. the delegates of convention, attended by the principal inhabitants of Trenton, and a handsome, well disciplined company of light infantry in uniform, under the command of capt. Hanlon, proceeded from the convention chamber to the court house, where the ratification of the new constitution was publicly announced, and received by a great number of citizens collected on the occasion with general approbation, which was expressed by repeated huzzas. The company of light infantry fired thirteen rounds—one more for the state of Delaware—and another for Pennsylvania. After which the convention returned in the same procession to their chamber, in order to compleat the great and important business of their appointment.

The business of the convention being concluded, it was resolved, that the convention do adjourn without day; whereupon the president dissolved the convention accordingly. After which the members of this honorable body, having previously invited a number of the magistrates and other gentlemen to partake with them, dined together at mr. Vandergriff's tavern—at which entertainment the joy and satisfaction of the occasion were traced in every heart, and apparent in every countenance. After dinner the following toasts were drank,

1. The new constitution.
2. The united states in congress.
3. The president and members of the late federal convention.
4. The governor and state of New Jersey.
5. The states of Delaware and Pennsylvania.
6. May the independence of the union, rested on the basis of the new constitution, be perpetual.
7. The princes and states in alliance with the united states.
8. May the interest of the united states be ever deemed the interest of each state.
9. Religion, learning, agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce, in harmony and mutual subserviency to each other.
10. The memory and posterity of those who have fallen in the late war.
11. May the gratitude of the American citizens be equal to the valour and patriotism of the American soldiery.
12. The daughters of America.
13. May the united states be the asylum of invaded liberty.

Volunteer. May the American swords from henceforth be sheathed in the love of the new government, and cease to assail by anarchy and confusion.

Dito. Universal liberty, justice and peace.

Wilmington, December 19. The poor's house, which has been some time building by this hundred, is now finished, and answers the warmest expectations of its patrons. It is a spectacle interesting to curiosity, and delightful to humanity, to see those members of our fellow creatures bending under the weight of years, or misfortune, supported with a cheerfulness, convenience, and plenty, superior to what most of them can be supposed to have known in their happiest days, and expressing in their countenances the sense of their situation. There is so great a difference between their condition, and that of the poor in most other places, where the expence of the public is considerably less, that it requires only to be known to incite others to imitate so laudable an example.

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